
LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA
AS DEPICTED IN THE JAIN CANONS

(WITH COMMENTARIES)

AN ADMINISTRATIVE, ECONOMIC SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF ANCIENT INDIA BASED ON THE JAIN CANONS

BY

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To

ALL ORIENTAL SCHOLARS,

Who,

From East and West Drawn,

Have Fallen Under the Spell of OUR PAST,

This Work

Is In All Reverence

Dedicated

PREFACE

When I began to study the Jain canons way back in 1939, I had no idea of the difficulties that lay on my path. But at the very outset, I found that a large number of canonical texts were either out of print or were not easily available for study. For, whatever canons are available, are hardly adequately edited, and have no index. Very few canons have been translated into English, and some of the important ones are still in manuscript form. However, I plunged myself into the deep ocean of the Jain *Āgamas* and I struck at the waves of undiscovered knowledge. I completed the first reading of the canons, and found many difficult passages unintelligible due to corrupt texts.

About this time I paid a visit to the Jain Bhandars of Patan, North Gujerat, where I read out my notes on the subject to Muni Punyavijayaji, a renowned scholar of the Jain *Āgamas*. During my stay in Patan, Muniji helped me in all possible ways for which I shall ever remain grateful to him.

When my study was over, I was contemplating writing a thesis when the Freedom Struggle of 1942 started. The Government of India arrested people without discretion and I too was arrested, and taken away from a world of scholars to a world of detenus.

When I left the detenu camp, I found myself a totally changed man. There was left in me very little inclination for a serious work like the present one However, at the instance of those whose wish is a command, I made up my mind to complete the work on the strength of which I got my degree from the University of Bombay in February, 1945. I have since been revising my thesis and checking up references. The title "Social Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons" has been changed into "Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons." The chapters on Geography, and Kings and Dynasties have been placed last, detailing only the important places and rulers. While revising the thesis more parallel references, particularly from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Jātakas* and the *Atthakathās*, have been added.

The Jain *Āgamas* have been described as "dry as dust" by some scholars, and perhaps that is the reason why this literature has not received the attention of scholars that it deserves. It must be mentioned that in order to have a thorough understanding of Indian culture and civilisation, the study of the Jain *Āgamas* is as important as that of the Brahmanic and the Buddhist literatures.

So far, with reference to social life, no scholar has utilised the material reflected in the Jain canons. In the present work I have made an attempt to include all such available material for the first time. I acknowledge that in preparing this work I was, undoubtedly, guided by other scholars, who have been working in the field in the past. Particular mention may be made here of the *Cheda Sūtras*, which, although forming a part of the Jain canonical literature, yet remained hitherto unstudied. This literature is really very important from the point of view of social history of the ancient Indian people. In these *Sūtras* we come across various customs and usages prevalent in different parts of India, the study of which will be certainly helpful in writing the history of the development of the Jain ascetic order.

I am indebted to all the authors whose works I have utilised in the present work, and I would like to make special mention of Mr. Ratilal Mehta's *Pre-Buddhist India* which I have freely referred to.

While I was writing this thesis I had the good fortune to receive the able guidance of Dr G. S. Ghurye, M A., Ph D., Head of the Department of Sociology, the School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay. I am grateful to him for his assistance.

I cannot adequately thank Dr. Motichand, M.A., Ph.D., the Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for helping me in preparing this thesis. But for his valuable aid I would not have been able to complete my work. Dr. Motichand even went through the major portion of my manuscript before it was sent to the press. I particularly appreciate his endeavours to assist me despite the numerous calls on his time and I cannot easily forget his kindness. Dr Vasudeva Sharan Agrawala, M.A., Ph D., the Curator of the Central Museum, New Delhi, read over the geographical section of my book, for which I am grateful to him

My sincere thanks are also due to Prof. F. D'Souza, M A., Professor of English, Siddhartha College, Bombay, Prof B. Miranda, M A., Professor of English, Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay, and Professor L Rodrigues, M A , Head of the Department of English, Siddhartha College, Bombay, for assisting me in reading the proofs and making useful suggestions.

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Mr. P. F. Taraporevala, the Director of the New Book Co., Ltd., Bombay, deserves my thanks for undertaking to publish my book, when many publishers in India had declined on the plea that the book failed to be a business proposition.

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28, Shivaji Park, Bombay 28
October, 1947

JAGDISH CHANDRA JAIN

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Bhā.=Bhāṣya. Com.=Commentary. Cū.=Cūrṇi.
Nir.=Niryukti. Pī.=Pīṭhikā. Sū.=Sūtra. Vṛ.=Vṛtti.

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(1) Jain Canonical

Ācārāṅga=Ācā.
—*Niryukti*, Bhadrabāhu.
—*Cūrṇi*, Jinadāsagani, Rutlam, 1941.
—com., Śīlāṅka, Surat, 1935.
—trans. H. Jacobi, S. B. E. XXII, 1884.
Antagaḍadasāo=Anta.
—com. Abhayadeva, Ed. by M. C. Modi, Ahmedabad, 1932.
—Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Poona, 1932.
—trans. L. D. Barnett, London, 1907.
Anuttarovavāiyadasāo=Anutta.
—com. Abhayadeva, Ed. by M. C. Modi, Ahmedabad, 1932.
—Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Poona, 1932.
Anuyogadāra=Anu.
—*Cūrṇi*, Jinadāsagaṇi, Rutlam, 1928.
—com. Haribhadra, Rutlam, 1928.
—com. Maladhāri Hemacandra, Bhavnagar, 1939.

Āvaśyaka=Āva.
—*Niryukti*, Bhadrabāhu.
—*Bhāṣya*.
—*Cūrṇi*, Jinadāsagani, Rutlam, 1928.
—com. Haribhadra, Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1916.
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Bhagavatī=Bhag.
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Bṛhatkalpa=Bṛh.
—Bhāṣya, Saṅghadāsagani
—com Malayagiri and Kṣemakīrti, Ātmānanda Jain Sabhā, Bhavnagar, 1933-1938.
—*Kalpa*—*Vyavahāra*— *Nisītha Sūtra*, Ahmedabad.

Catuḥśaraṇa=Catu.
—Avacūrṇi. Vīrabhadra, Devacand Lalbhai.

Daśāśrutaskandha, Lahore. 1936=Daśā.

Dasaveyāliya=Das.
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—Cūrṇi, Jinadāsagani, Rutlam, 1933
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Gacchācāra=Gacch.
—com. Vijayavimalagani, Ahmedabad, 1924.

Isibhāsiya, Surat, 1927=Isi

Jambuddīvapannatti=Jambu.
—com. Sānticandra, Bombay 1920.

Jītakalpa=Jīta.
—Bhāṣya, Jinabhadragani, Ed. Punyavijaya, Ahmedabad, v. s 1914.
—Cūrṇi, Siddhasena, Ahmedabad, v. s. 1983.

Jīvābhigama=Jīvā.
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Kalpasūtra=Kalpa.
—com. Samayasundara, Bombay, 1939.
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Mahānisītha=Mahā. Ni.
Ed. W Schubring. Berlin, 1918.
Guj trans. Narsimha Bhai (Mss).

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Pindanijjutti=Pinda.

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—com Malayagiri, Surat, 1918.

Rāyapaseniya=Rāya

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Samavāyānga=Sama

—com Abhayadeva, Ahmedabad, 1938.

Sūriyapannatti=Sūr

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Sūyagadanga=Sūya.

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Thānāṅga =Thā.
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Purātattva

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CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF THE JAIN CHURCH

According to the Jain tradition, Usabha or Ṛsabha was the first *Jina* and the first *Tīrthaṅkara* who was born in a very primitive age when people were illiterate and did not know any art. In fact, it was Usabha who is said to have taught the arts of cooking, writing, pottery, painting and sculpture for the first time. At this time came into existence the institution of marriage, the ceremony of cremating the dead, building of the mounds (*thūbhas*) and the festivals in honour of Indra and the Nāgas. It is said that Usabha was born in Ikkhāgabhūmi (Ayodhyā), the first capital of India, and is said to have lived for an immeasurable length of time. He attained *Nirvāṇa* on the mountain Atthāvaya (Kailāsa), where temples in his honour were built by his son, Bharata.[1]

Then the traditional list is given of the twenty three *Tīrthaṅkaras*.[2] It is curious to note, however, that most of the *Tīrthaṅkaras* have been assigned to the Ikṣvāku family and are said to have attained salvation at the mountain Sammeya (modern Parasnath Hill in Hazaribagh District). So far no historical evidences have come forth to warrant the historical existence of the first twenty two *Tīrthaṅkaras*, on the other hand, taking into consideration the long duration of their careers and the intermediate periods between each *Tīrthaṅkara*, they appear to be legendary figures introduced perhaps to balance the number of *Jinas* with the number of the *Buddhas*.

PĀRSVANĀTHA—THE HISTORICAL PERSONALITY

Pāsa or Pārsvanātha, who was the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra, is said to have flourished some 250 years before the advent of the latter. He was born in Vārāṇasī (Benares) and was the son of the king Āsasena by his queen Vāmā. He lived thirty years as a lay man, and after leading a life of an ascetic for seventy years, attained salvation at the mountain Sammeya.[3] Pārsvanātha is said to have visited a number of cities, the prominent among which were Ahicchattā[4], Āmalakappā,[5] Sāvatthī, Hatthināpura, Kampillapura, Sāgeya,[6] Rāyagiha and Kosambī.[7] He was known as *Purisādāṇīya* (*purisājānīya* in Pali)[8] or the distinguished man.[9]

[1] *Kalpa Sū.* 7. 206-228, *Jambu.* 2. 18-40.
[2] Cf. The twenty four *Buddhas*, who immediately preceded the last *Buddha*, *Buddhavamsa*. cf. also *Digh.* II. P. 2 where the seven *Buddhas* are mentioned.
[3] *Kalpa Sū.* 6. 149-169.
[4] *Ācā. Nir.* 335.
[5] *Nāyā.* II. p. 222.
[6] *ibid.*, p. 229.
[7] *ibid.*, p. 230.
[8] *Purisājānīya* is mentioned in the *Anguttara* I. 290, II, 115.
[9] *Kalpa Sū.* 6. 149. also see Schubring, *Die Lehre Der Jainas* p. 24.

Pārśva and his disciples (*pāsāvaccijja*) are referred to in various Jain Canons. We learn from the *Ācārāṅga*[10] that the parents of Mahāvīra followed the faith of Pārśva and were the adherents of the *Samaṇas*. The *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* mentions several ascetics of the Pārśva sect, who were present during the course of Mahāvīra's wanderings as an ascetic. Uppala was a *pāsāvaccijja*, who after giving up the monastic order had entered the house-holder's life (*pacchākaḍa*) and followed the profession of a fortune-teller (*nemitta*) in Aṭṭhiyagāma.[11] His two sisters named Somā and Jayantī had joined the order of Pārśva but being unable to continue the rigid ascetic life of his order they became *Parivrājikās* of the Brahmanic order. Later on, when Mahāvīra and Gosāla got into trouble in Corāya Sannivesa, they came to their rescue.[12] Then we meet thera Municanda, a follower of Pārśva, who dwelt in a potter's shop in Kumārāya Sannivesa in the company of his disciples. When questioned by Gosāla, Municanda replied that they were *Samaṇa Nigganthas* Gosāla asked as to how they could be called *Nigganthas* since they were possessed of so many personal assets, and he threatened to burn their place of residence (*padissaya*). Gosāla approached Mahāvīra and narrated this incident to him whereupon the latter remarked that these ascetics were the followers of Pārśva and he could do no harm to them.

These ascetics indulged in certain activities which according to the principles of Mahāvīra constituted preliminary sin (*sārambha*) ; they put on clothes (*saparigggaha*) and also practised *Jinakappa* (adopting the standard of *Jina*) towards the end of their life. We are told that thera Municanda placed his disciple at the head of the *gaccha* and went to practise *Jinakappa* outside the town. Good feeling towards all beings (*sattabhāvanā*) and five kinds of meditations (*bhāvanā*) are prescribed for the ascetic who wanted to practise *Jinakappa*. The five meditations are penance (*tava*), fearlessness (*satta*), study of scriptures (*sutta*), concentration (*egatta*) and spiritual strength (*bala*) which should be practised inside and outside the monastery (*uvasaya*), a square road (*caukka*), a solitary house (*sunnaghara*) or in a cemetery[13] Then we hear of Vijayā and Pagabbhā, the two female disciples of Pārśva (*pāsantevāsinīo*), who saved Mahāvīra and Gosāla in Kūviya Sannivesa[14]

The *Bhagavatī*[15] records the discussion that took place between Mahāvīra and the samaṇa Gāṅgeya, a follower of Pārśva, in Vāṇiyagāma. Gāṅgeya gave up the *Caujjāmadhamma* (the doctrine of the four-fold restraint) and embraced the *Pañcamahavvaya* (the five greater vows) of Mahāvīra. Kālāsavesiyaputta was another follower of Pārśva who became a follower of Mahāvīra.[16] Then the *Nāyādhammakahā*

10 II 3 401, p 389
11 p 273.
1 p 286
13 *Āva cū.* pp 285, 291 , cf. also *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1. 1328-57.
14 *Āva cū* , p. 291
15 9 32
16 *ibid.*, 1 9

refers to Puṇḍarīya who plucked out his hair and accepted the four vows.[17] The city of Tungiya is stated to have been the centre of the *theras*, the followers of Pārsva, who moved in a congregation of five hundred monks. It is said that the lay adherents of the town went to attend to their religious sermons and were highly delighted The names of the theras Kāliyaputta, Mehila, Ānandarakkhiya and Kāsava are particularly mentioned here.[18]. Further, the *Nāyādhammakahā*[19] and the *Niryāvaliyāo*[20] refer to a number of lay women who joined the order of Pārśva. We hear of the renunciation ceremony of the old maiden (*vaddakumārī*), Kālī, who joined the ascetic order of Pārsva and was entrusted to Pupphacūlā, the head of the nuns [21]

Further, the *Sūyagadanga*[22] mentions Udaya Pedhālaputta, a *Nigantha* follower of Pārsva of the *Meyajja* (Skr *Medārya*) *gotta* There were religious discussions between him and Goyama Indabhūi, after which the latter took him to Mahāvīra, where he gave up the doctrine of four restraints and took up the five great vows, as ordained by the Teacher The *Rāyapaseniya*[23] refers to a young monk (*kumārasamaṇa*)[24] named Kesī, who was a follower of Pārsva and knew fourteen *Pūrvas* Once he visited the town of Sāvatthī in a congregation of five hundred monks The charioteer Citta attended his religious sermons and invited him to Seyaviyā In course of time, Kesī visited Seyaviyā where a discussion took place between him and king Paesī, and the latter being convinced of his opponent's doctrine became an adherent of the *Samanas*. Kesī is also referred to in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* where an important historical meeting is recorded to have taken place between him and Goyama, the representatives and leaders of the two branches of the Jain Church, in Sāvatthī. In this council many important questions were discussed and finally Kesī accepted the five-fold vows preached by Mahāvīra.[25]

It must be mentioned that the credit of proving the existence of the *Nigganthas* before Nātaputta Mahāvīra on the strength of references in Pali literature belongs to Professor Jacobi.[26] It is stated in the Sāmaññaphala sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* that a *Nigantha* is restrained with a four-fold restraint (*cāluyāma-samvara*) 'He is restrained as regards all water, restrained as regards all evil, all evil has he washed away, and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay.'[27] Because of this

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17 19, p 218.
18 *Bhag* 2. 5.
19 II 10.
20 4
21 *Nāyā* II 1, p 222 f.
22 II 7.
23 *Sū* 147 f.
24 Prof Bagchi refers to the Sūtra of Pāṇini (II 1 70) "*Kumārah Śramaṇādibhih*" pointing out that the author might have had the followers of Pārsva in view, The historical beginning of Jainism, p. 74, *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee*, Vol III
25 23
26 See *Jain Sūtras*, Vol xlv, pp xiv xxi, cf also Prof P C Bagchi *op cit*, pp 76 S
27 Cf the corresponding four-fold restraint taught by Buddha which consisted of observing the four precepts against injury stealing unchastity and lying (*Digha*, iii, p 181)

four-fold restraint, he is called a *Nigantha* (free from bonds), *gatatta* (one whose heart has been in the attainment of his aim), *yatatta* (one whose heart is under command) and *thitatta* (one whose heart is fixed). The Pali texts contain the names of several disciples of Nātaputta, who are said to have entered into discussion with Buddha and at the end become his followers. Vappa, a *śākyan* king and an uncle of Buddha, was a disciple of the *Niganthas*, who, convinced of the superiority of Buddha's teachings, became his follower.[28] Similarly, could be cited the names of Asibandhakaputta,[29] Abhayarājakumāra,[30] Sīha,[31] Upāli,[32] Dīghatapassi,[33] Saccaka,[34] Sirigutta[35] and the women disciples such as Saccā, Lolā, Avavādakā, Patācarā[36] and others. The Devadaha Sutta in the *Majjhima Nikāya* contains a detailed analysis and criticism, attributed to Buddha, of the beliefs and teachings of the *Nāganthas*[37]

These literary evidences in Jain and Buddhist texts presuppose the existence of a *Nigantha* order founded by Pārśvanātha before the advent of Mahāvīra and there is much to be said in favour of the Jain tradition that Mahāvīra was no more than a reformer of an older *Nigantha* order.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF PĀRSVANĀTHA

Pārśvanātha flourished towards the end of the ninth century B C, 250 years before Mahāvīra He was a powerful religious teacher, who fought against the Brāhmanic tyranny of caste system[38] and the merciless slaughter of animals[39] in the Vedic sacrifices. The religion of Pārśva was meant for one and all without any distinction of caste or creed. He was a well-wisher of women and gave them freedom by admitting them into his order.[40]

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[28] *Anguttara*, ii, p 196 f, iii, p 199

[29] *Samyutta*, iv 317 ff

[30] *Majjhima*, I, Abhayarājakumāra Sutta.

[31] *Mahāvagga*, VI, 31, *Anguttara*, IV, 180 ff

[32] *Majjhima*, I, Upāli Sutta

[33] *ibid*

[34] *ibid.*, Cūlasaccaka and Mahâsaccaka Sutta.

[35] *Dhammapada A*, I, pp. 434 ff

[36] *Jātaka*, III, 1

[37] Also cf *Anguttara*, I 205 f where the *Niganthas* are condemned in ten respects; *Dhammapada* A, III, pp 200 f See also Chapter on Buddha and Niganthas, B C Law, *Historical Gleanings*

[38] Cf the Veda should not be recited in a village where a *Cāndāla* lives (*Āpastamba* 1 3 9. 15); his ears shall be filled with (molten) tin or lac, if he listens intentionally to (a recitation) of the Veda, his tongue shall be cut out if he recites Vedic texts, his body shall be split in twain if he remembers them (*Gautama* XII 4 6), also cf *Mātanga Jātaka* (No 497), IV, p 376 where the daughter of a merchant washes her eyes with perfumed water after seeing a *Mātanga*

[39] Cf *Viṣṇusmṛti* (*The Institutes of Vishnu*, *S B E*, Vol VII, LI 61-63) where it is stated that the slaughter of beasts for a sacrifice is no slaughter and the animals destroyed for the purpose of sacrifice, obtain exaltation in another existence, also see *Gautama*, XVII, 37, *Vasistha*, (XI 46); *Manu* V 39.

[40] Cf *Āpastamba* (1 5 14) where purification is prescribed on touching a woman, they were also not allowed to perform religious sacrifices (11 6. 17), also cf *Baudhāyana* (1 5 11 7) where women are considered to have no business with the sacred texts Cf Buddha who after repeated refusals and with great reluctance allowed women to enter the *Sangha* and that too on the acknowledgement of their inferiority (*Cullavagga*, X, I)

Pārśva emphasised the doctrine of *Ahiṃsā* Since he had to raise a protest against the Brāhmanic sacrifices which inculcated slaughter of animals, this step was quite essential [41] Later on, he added three more precepts to this, *viz*, abstinence from telling lies (*musāvāyāo veramana*; *musāvādā veramanī*, Pali), from stealing (*adinnādānāo veramana*; *adinnādānā veramanī*, Pali) and from external possessions (*bahiddhāo veramana*) These four precepts were called by the name of *Cāujjāmadhamma*, which constituted an important feature of the immediate background of Mahāvīra's Jainism. Pārśvanātha also enjoined strict asceticism[42] as the only way for the attainment of salvation As a matter of fact, the fundamental principles of the two *Nigantha* orders were not at all different and the religion preached by one was substantially the same as preached by the other. The description of the rules of conduct of Kesī Kumāra, a disciple of Pārsva,[43] tallies *verbatim* with those of the disciples of Mahāvīra[44] with the difference that the former preached the four great vows, while the latter preached five It is said that the first saints were simple but slow of understanding, the last were prevaricating and slow of understanding and those between the two were simple and wise, hence there were two forms of Law.[45] Another important difference between the doctrine of Pārsva and Mahāvīra was that the former allowed an under and upper garment (*santaruttaro*) whereas the latter forbade clothing altogether [46] Questioned by Kesī as to what caused this difference between the two law-givers pursuing the same end, Goyama replied that the various outward symbols were introduced because they were useful for religious life ; as a matter of fact, knowledge, faith and right conduct, were the only true causes of liberation and not the outward symbols [47] The order of Pārśva seems to have undergone some changes in the period between the death of Pārsvanātha and the advent of Mahāvīra and that might have been the cause of the latter's alienation [48]

Pārsvanātha founded the four orders (*ganas*) with their *Ganadharas*[49] which shows that possibly the arrangement for the organization of the Jain Church was the best which could be had in those early days. Reference has already been made to the ascetics belonging to the order of Pārsva moving about in a congregation during the course of Mahāvīra's ascetic life. Thus it is evident that Jainism was not a new phenomenon

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[41] Cf however that even at the time of the Brāhmanas a section of people regarded *Ahimsā* as a great virtue and sacrifice a source of sin See *Śatapatha Brāhmana* I ii 3 6-9, 1.2.5 19 ; *Vasistha*, 10. 2 ; also cf *Kena Up*. 1, 3, *Chāndogya*, 3, 17, 4, *Mahābhārata, Śānti*, P. 143-148, 174, 268 271, 274

[42] *Tapas* is also praised in the Brāhmanic literature. See *Śatapatha Br*, 9 5. 1 8 ; *Āpastamba*, 2 9 23 1-6, also cf. *Chāndogya*, 3 17 4; *Jābāla* 6, *Mahābhārata, Śānti* P. 159, 251, 294.

[43] Cf *Rāya Sū*. 147

[44] Cf *Ovā Sū* 16, p 61.

[45] *Uttarā*, 23, 26

[46] *ibid*., 26, 29.

[47] *ibid*, 32 f.

[48] Cf *Jain Sūtras*, Vol. XIV, p. 122 n 3 ; Prof. P. C. Bagchi, *op cit*., p. 81 f.

[49] *Kalpa, Sū*. 6, 160,

in the history of Indian religion of the sixth century B.C., as is popularly supposed, but it goes back to the period of Pārsvanātha, the 23rd *Tīrthankara* of the Jains, as early as the ninth century B.C.

MAHĀVĪRA

After Pārśva Mahāvīra became the leader of the Jain community. He was born in Khattiyakundaggāma, a suburb of Vaisāli, in the house of king Siddhattha by his queen Tisalā Mahāvīra retired from the world at the age of thirty and leading a life of severe asceticism, attained *kevalinship* on the bank of the river Ujjuvāliyā near the town of Jambhiyagāma. Mahāvīra roamed about as a *Tīrthankara* for thirty years, and at the age of seventy-two, after two hundred and fifty years of Pārśva's death, died in Pāvā about 467 B.C.[50]

During his *Tīrthankara* career Mahāvīra travelled a number of places and ordained various kings, princes, tradesmen and high officials. Like Pārśva, he too divided his community (*sangha*) into four orders, viz., monks, nuns, lay men and lay women, each *sangha* consisting of a super-monk. Goyama Indabhūi and Candanā were Mahāvīra's first male and female disciples respectively. Mahāvīra exercised his influence in various royal families, and the kings Cetaka,[51] Seṇiya,[52] Kūṇiya,[53] Udayana,[54] Dadhivāhana,[55] Pajjoya[56] and others are said to have become his great devotees. Mahāvīra is also said to have ordained the kings Uddāyana[57] of Sindhusovīra, Siva[58] of Hatthināpura, Sāla and Mahāsāla[59] of Pitthicampā, Cilāya[60] of Kodivarisa and others Among women from the royal families, Jayantī[61] and Miyāvaī of Kosambī, eight queens of Pajjoya including Angāravatī,[62] and ten queens of Seṇiya including Kālī[63] are stated to be prominent. Among princes may be mentioned Mehakumāra,[64] Nandisena,[65] Abhayakumāra,[66] Halla, Vihalla[67] and others.

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50 According to Muni Kalyan Vijaya, Mahāvīra attained liberation in 528 B C. after fourteen years of Buddha's *Parinirvāna* For his learned article "Vīra Nirvāna Samvat aur Kāl gananā," see N P Patrikā, Vols, X-XI; also see Jacobi's article "Buddhas und Mahāvīras Nirvāna" etc a Gujarati translation of which is published in the *Bhartiya Vidyā, Singhī Smāraka*, also Schubring, *op. cit*, pp 5, 30, also Keith's article in the *Bull School of Or. Studies* 6, 859-866

51 *Āva Cū* II, p 164

52 *Uttarā.* 20, *Dasā* 10, *Āva Cū* p. 114.

53 *Ovā. Sū.* 12

54 *Bhag* 12. 2

55 *Āva. Cū* II, p 207

56 *Āva. Cū.* p 401

57 *Bhag.* 13 6

58 *ibid.* 11, 9.

59 *Uttarā. Ti* 10, p 153 a

60 *Āva. Nir* 1305

61 *Bhag.* 12, 2.

62 *Āva. Cū.* p 91

63 *Antagaḍa.* 7, p. 44.

64 *Nāyā.* 1.

65 *Āva. Cū.* P. 559 f

66 *ibid.*, p. 115.

67 *ibid.*, II, p. 174.

During the life time of Mahāvīra, Jainism could make only a small headway and it does not seem to have spread beyond the boundaries of Aṅga and Magadha where the Teacher principally dwelt and preached but later on, after the death of Mahāvīra, his followers and successors succeeded in popularising the faith to a much greater degree, so that it did not fail to enjoin the support of kings as well as commoners.

ELEVEN GANADHARAS

Mahāvīra had eleven *Ganadharas* or heads of Schools (cf. *Ganācariya* in Pali). The eldest was Indabhūi, then followed Aggibhūi, Vāubhūi, Viyatta, Suhamma, Maṇḍiya, Moriyaputta, Akampiya, Avalabhāyā, Mejja and Pabhāsa. The first three *Ganadharas* were brothers and belonged to the Goyama *gotta* and were residents of Gobbaragāma. The fourth belonged to the Bhāraddāya *gotta*, and was the resident of Kollāga sannivesa; the fifth belonged to the Aggivesāyana *gotta*, and was the resident of Kollāga sannivesa; the sixth belonged to the Vasiṭṭha *gotta*, and was the resident of Moriya sannivesa; the seventh belonged to the Kāsava *gotta*, and was the resident of Moriya sannivesa, the eighth belonged to the Goyama *gotta*, and was the resident of Mihilā; the ninth belonged to the Hariāyana *gotta*, and was the resident of Kosala, the tenth belonged to the Koḍinna *gotta* and was the resident of Tungiya sannivesa; the eleventh belonged to the same *gotta*, and was the resident of Rāyagiha. These *Gaṇadharas* were all Brāhmana teachers and all except Indabhūi and Suhamma, died during the life time of Mahāvīra. They are said to have been versed in the twelve Angas, the fourteen *Puvvas*, and the whole *ganipiḍaga* (the basket of the *Ganis*). They died in Rāyagiha after fasting for a month.[68] Goyama Indabhūi cut asunder the tie of friendship which he had for his Master and attained *kevalinship* the same night when Mahāvīra died[69] He survived Mahāvīra for twelve years and finally achieved salvation at Rāvagiha at the age of ninety two.[70] The name of Suhamma, the fifth *Ganadhara* of Mahāvīra, we come across in the Jain Canons frequently After Mahāvīra's death, he became the head of the Jain community and held that position for twenty years, till he attained *kevalinship* He is said to have narrated the Jain Canons to his disciple Jambu in the manner he had heard from his Master. The *Nigganṭha samanas* of the present time are all spiritual descendants of the monk Ajja Suhamma, the rest of the *Ganadharas* left no descendants.[71].

THE SCHISMS

The following Schisms are mentioned in the Jain Church :—

(1) Jamāli, who was Mahāvīra's sister's son and also his son-in-law, was the first man to start the schism in Sāvatthī during the life time of

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68 See *Kalpa Sū.* 8. 1-4; *Āva. Nir.* 644 ff., 658 f.
69 *Kalpa Sū.* 5. 127.
70 *Āva. Nir.* 656.
71 *Kalpa Sū.* 8. 4.

Mahāvīra, after fourteen years of his attaining omniscience. Jamāli was a prince of Khattiyakuṇḍaggāma, who renounced the world and became a follower of Mahāvīra. Difference of opinion arose between him and his teacher over a slight matter whereupon Jamāli declared that before the accomplishment of the act its results begin bearing fruits; the followers of Jamāli were known as *bahuraya*s. Piyadarsanā, the daughter of Mahāvīra, first joined the schismatic order of her husband, but later on, she was enlightened and joined the order of Mahāvīra.

(2) The second schism was started by Tissagutta at Usabhapura (Rāyagiha), during Mahāvīra's life time after sixteen years of his attaining *kevalahood*. Tissagutta was a disciple of ācārya Vasu, who was well-versed in the fourteen *Pūrvas*. His followers were called *jīvapaesiyas*; they controverted the view of Mahāvīra that the soul is permeated in all the constituent atoms of the body.

(3) The third schism was led by Āṣāḍha at Seyaviyā after 214 years of Mahāvīra's attaining salvation. His followers were called *avattiyas* and they held that there is no difference between gods, saints, kings and other beings.

(4) The fourth schism was started by Assamitta in Mihilā, after 220 years of Mahāvīra's attaining salvation. His followers were called *samuccheiyas* and they held that since the end of all life will come some day the effects of good or bad deeds are immaterial.

(5) The fifth schism was started by Gaṅga at Ullukātīra after 228 years of Mahāvīra's attaining salvation. His followers were called *dokiriyas* and they held that the two opposite feelings such as cold and warmth could be experienced at the same time.

(6) The sixth schism arose in Antarañjiyā and was started by Saḍūlaya otherwise known as Rohagutta after 544 years of Mahāvīra's attaining salvation. Saḍūlaya is said to have been the author of the *Vaiseṣika sūtras*. His followers were called *terāsiyas* and they held that between the life (*jīva*) and non-life (*ajīva*) there is a third state '*no-jīva*.' According to the *Kalpasūtra*,[72] the *terāsiyas* were founded by a disciple of Ajja Mahāgiri.

(7) The seventh schism was led by Goṭṭhamahila at Dasapura after 584 years of Mahāvīra's attaining salvation. His followers were called *abaddhiyas* and according to them the *jīva* is not bound by *Karman*.[73]

THE ŚVETĀMBARAS AND DIGAMBARAS

Then we come to the epoch-making schism between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects of the Jains. The Digambaras maintained that absolute nudity is a necessary condition of sainthood which the Śvetām-

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72 8, p 228 a.

73 *Thā* 587, *Āva. Nir* 779 ff, also *Bhā* 125 ff, *Āva Cū.* p 416 ff, *Uttarā. Ṭī* 3, p. 68 a-75, *Ovā. Sū.* 41, p 197, also *Bhag.* 9 33, *Sama Sū.* 22, *Bhag.* 1. I, p. 41 f (Bechardas ed).

baras denied and held that the use of clothes does not impede the highest sanctity It may be noted that the history of the division in the Jain order into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras is traceable to an early period of Jain religion. We have seen as to how Pārśvanātha allowed his monks to wear an under and upper garment,[74] whereas Mahāvīra preferred to go about naked, and this difference of opinion between the two *Jinas* probably developed into two great sects.

It is stated in the *Ācārāṅga*[75] that "a mendicant who moves about naked (*acela*) and is firm in control, it will not occur to him 'my clothes are torn, I shall beg new ones, I shall beg for thread, I shall beg for a needle, I shall mend them, I shall repair them'," which shows that in the early days both kinds of monks, viz , *Jinakalpa* and *Sthavirakalpa*[76] were allowed to remain in the Jain *Saṅgha*, and there were no strict rules about one's wearing clothes or going undressed. The injunction that " 'my clothes being torn, I shall soon go naked,' or 'I shall get new one's' such thoughts should not be entertained by a monk'"[77] also testifies the above assertion What we gather from the Jain texts Mahāvīra seems to be the first exponent of nudity, as a cult feature in the Jain Church, although as we have seen even the monks of the order of Pārsava practised *Jinakappa* After Mahāvīra the name of Mahāgiri, a disciple of Thūlabhadda is cited who towards the end of his life entrusted the *gaṇa* to Suhatthī and practised *Jinakappa* at Dasannapura [78] The practice of *Jinakappa* was also

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[74] Cf the '*ticīvara*' of a Buddhist Bhikkhu consisted of an upper cloak (*uttarāsaṅga*), a waist cloth (*saṅghāṭī*) and an under garment (*antaravāsaka*), all being oblong in shape (*Mahāvagga*, VIII, 14 2)

[75] 6 3 182 trans by Jacobi, p 57

[76] The *Jinakalpika* monks are of two kinds (1) Those who use the hollow of their hand for an alms-bowl (*pāṇipātra*) and (2) those who use alms-bowl (*patigrahadhārī*) Each is further sub-divided into two (*a*) those who go without clothes (*abrāvaraṇa*) and (*b*) those who wear clothes (*saprāvaraṇa*) The former have the broom (*rajoharaṇa*) and a piece of cloth before their mouth (*mukhavastrikā*), whereas the latter have one, two or three garments (*kalpa*) besides the *rajoharaṇa* and the *mukhavastrikā* Those who use the alms-bowls and go without clothes possess twelve religious articles as follows *pātra pātrabandhaka, pātrasthāpana, pātrakesarika, paṭalaka, rajastrāṇa* and *gocchaka* and *rajoharaṇa* and *mukhavastrikā* and one two or three garments mentioned above (*Bṛh Bhā* 3, 3962 f) About the *Sthavirakalpa* monks it is said in the *Ācā Sū* (7 4 208 f) that a mendicant who possesses three robes and a bowl as fourth article should not think of begging a fourth robe After the winter is gone and the summer has set in a monk should leave off the old garment , being clad with an upper and under garment (*santaruttara*), or with the undermost garment (*omacele*) or with one garment (*egasāḍe*) or without garments (*acele*) he should aspire for freedom from the bonds of *karmas* A mendicant who possesses two robes and a bowl as third article should not think of begging for the third robe, etc (*ibid* 7 5 213) A mendicant who possesses one robe and a bowl as second article should not think of begging the second robe, etc , (*ibid* 7 6 215) If a naked monk thinks that he can bear the pricking of grass cold and heat, stinging of flies and mosquitoes or any other painful thing but cannot leave off the privities uncovered then he can cover his privities with *kaṭibandhana* (*ibid* 7 7 220) , also see Schubring op cit p 163 f It should be noted, however, that later on, the number of articles in a monk's equipment increased and as a result of which we notice in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* (3 3961) that *kaṭibandha* is replaced by *colapaṭṭaka* and besides the above-mentioned twelve articles *mātraka* was allowed to the monks

According to the Digambaras both *Jinakalpika* and *Sthavirakalpika* monks must go about naked (see Devasena's *Bhāvasaṅgraha* (119 33) , also Kamtaprasad Jain's article in the *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol IX, No 11)

[77] *Uttarā Sū* 2-12.

[78] *Āva. Cū.* II, p. 155 f.

prevalent at the time of Ajja Rakkhiya. We learn from the *Āvaśyaka Cūrni*[79] that when Ajja Rakkhiya initiated his family, his father was not willing to discard clothes due to modesty ; he felt shy to move about naked in the presence of his daughters and daughters-in-law. Later on, with great persuasion he accepted a *kadipatta* which was replaced by a *colapatta* in course of time

Then we come to Sivabhūi, who is said to have led the *bodiyas* after six hundred and nine years of Mahāvīra's death, in Rahavīrapura. It is said that Sivabhūi was in the service of the king of Rahavīrapura and he used to return home very late at night. One day his wife did not open the door of the house and Sivabhūi straight away went to the residence of the monks and asked for *pavvajjā* The monks refused to ordain him thus, whereupon Sivabhūi by himself plucked out his hair and automatically he became a monk, and practised *Jinakappa*. His sister followed him by joining his order Kodinna and Kottivīra are stated to be the first two disciples of Sivabhūi [80]

This is the legend about schism told by the Śvetāmbaras. The Digambaras relate another legend about the origin of the schism which differs from that of the Śvetāmbaras According to this, during the reign of Candragupta in Ujjeni Bhadrabāhu predicted that there would be a terrible famine in the country which would last for twelve years. At this Viśākhācārya, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu led the Saṅgha to the Punnāta kingdom, while Rāmilla, Sthūlabhadra and Bhadrācārya, emigrated to the country of Sindhu In course of time when all of them returned to Ujjeni, there was still famine in the country, so they allowed the monks to wear a piece of garment (*ardhaphālakam purah krrtvā*) while going for alms. When the famine was over, however, the monks were asked to give up the use of the garment since it was not in pursuance of the strict requirement of Mahāvīra's order, but some monks would not follow their elders' advice Thus came into existence the schism of the Digambara and Śvetāmbaras in the Jain order.[81]

It may be stated that both these legends are of sufficiently late origin and hence cannot be relied upon fully. In fact, the division of Jains in Śvetāmbara and Digambara community was a gradual process,[82] and in the early history of Jainism the Church was not divided into sects. The Jain inscriptions of the first and second century A D. found at the Kankālī Tīlā Mathura also do not show any trace of schism in the Jain Church. We have already noticed that both practices wearing clothes or going undressed were allowed in the Jain Church although Mahāvīra himself went about naked In course of time the difference regarding the question of a monk wearing clothes became more and more acute

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79 p 406 f

80 *Āva Bhā* 145 f, *Āva Cū* p 427 f

81 *Bṛhatkathākośa* 131, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol II (Revised), pp 36 ff, also see *Bhāvasangraha* of Devasena (Bombay, V S. 1978), pp 35-9, *Bhadrabāhucarita* by Bhaṭṭāraka Ratnanandi (Bombay 1912)

82 cf Schubring, *op cit*, p 6.

resulting gradually in innumerable unnecessary controversies[83] between the two communities. The history and development of these sects and the reason of their separation is really interesting and should form a subject of further research.

THE GREAT LEADERS[84]

During his life time Mahāvīra was the head of the four orders in his community. After his death Suhamma succeeded him and continued to be the spiritual head for twenty years. Suhamma was followed by Jambu who was the last *Kevalin*, and after him the doors of final liberation and omniscience (*kevalinship*) were forever closed to men Jambu was succeeded by Pabhava, Sejjambhava, Jasobhadda and Sambhūtivijaya. Then came the famous Bhaddabāhu, during whose leadership Magadha was visited by a great famine. Bhaddabāhu was followed by Thūlabhadda, who is said to have been the son of Sagaḍāla, the prime-minister to the ninth Nanda. Thūlabhadda continued to be the leader of the Church for a long time. The six spiritual leaders from Jambu onwards are called *Śrutakevalins* and they are said to have been bound by common spiritual interest (*ekka-sambhogo*)[85] The next head of the community after Thūlabhadda was Mahāgirī, and as it has been pointed out, he revived the ideal practice of nudity, and himself practised *Jinakappa*. From the time of Mahāgirī the practice of *sambhoga* was discontinued. Mahāgirī was followed by Suhatthī, who converted king Sampai, the grandson and successor of Asoka. Sampai was a great patron of Jainism and he worked hard for the spread of the Jain religion in non-Aryan countries. During the time of Mahāvīra the Jain monks could move in a limited area, but now twenty five and a half countries were opened to them[86] Suhatthī was followed by Sutthiya Sūri, Suppadibuddha and Indadinna. Then came the well-known Kālakācārya, who is said to have caused the defeat of king Gaddabhilla with the assistance of Scythian kings.[87] Kālakācārya, who was a contemporary of king Sātavāhana, is particularly remembered in connection with changing the date of *Pajjūsana* (an annual feast).[88] The next spiritual leader of importance was Ajja Vaira, who is considered to be the last *Dasapūrvin* and contemporary of king Nahavāna It is said that he was received with great pomp and ceremony by the king of Pātaliputra. During this period the country is said to have been visited by long famines twice, once in Uttarāpatha and once in Daksināpatha. Towards the end of his life Ajja Vaira went to the mountain Rahāvaya and died by giving up food and drink[89] Ajja Vaira was followed by Ajja Rakkhiya, who mastered

83 Cf *Yuktiprabodha* by Meghavijayagani, Ratlam, V S 1984
84 See *Kalpa Sū* 8 and its commentary by Samayasundaragaṇi
85 *Nisī Cū* 5, p 437
86 *Bṛh Bhā* I 3263
87 *Nisī. Cū.* 10, pp 571 ff
88 *ibid*, pp 630 ff.
89 *Āva Cū.*, pp 390-396, 404 f.

the nine *Pūrvas* and who ordained his whole family, as mentioned already.

Among the later exponents of Jain religion mention may be made of Umāsvāti, Kundakunda, Siddhasena Divākara, Samantabhadra, Haribhadra, Akalnka, Vidyānanda and Hemacandra. All of them were versatile writers and they supported the cause of Jainism by their most valuable writings. Hemacandra, otherwise known as *kalikāla-sarvajña*, was a versatile genius and became the head of the community in 1121 A.D. It was during this time that Kumārapāla embraced Jainism and under his patronage Jainism became the state religion of Gujrat. Since then Jainism went on declining and its star never shone brightly again

Jainism passed through many storms and upheavals from time to time from its birth, and yet it could survive and did not disappear from the soil of India like its sister religion Buddhism. The chief cause of this seems to have been the inflexible conservatism of the Jains in holding fast to their original institutions and doctrines. This is the reason, as Prof. Jacobi has pointed out, that although a number of less vital rules concerning life and practices of the monks and lay men may have fallen into oblivion or disuse, yet the religious life of the Jain community even now is substantially the same as it was two thousand years ago.[90]

[90] Charpentier, *Cambridge History of India*, p. 169.

CHAPTER II

THE CANONS OF THE JAINS

CLASSIFICATION OF THE CANONS

Suyanāna or scriptural knowledge, otherwise known as *Siddhānta* or *Āgama* consists of the twelve *Angas*, twelve *Upāngas*, ten *Painnas*, six *Cheda Sūtras*, *Nandi* and *Anuyoga* and four *Mūla Sūtras*[1]. These scriptures form the canon of the Śvetāmbaras alone and are disowned by the Digambaras Out of this subsidiary canonical literature with the exception of the *Angas*, the lists and the titles of the texts are not always uniform The number of the *Painnās*, for instance, is very indefinite and varies to a great extent. Sometimes *Nandi*, *Anuyogadāra* and *Pañcakappa* are placed at the head of the *Painnās*. The traditional number of books in the *Siddhānta* is forty five (*Drstivāda* being lost), but the number of texts mentioned in various places varies between forty five and fifty.[2]

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[1] (i) *The twelve Angas* (1) Āvārānga Sutta (Ācārānga Sūtra), (2) Sūyagadanga (Sūtrakrtānga), (3) Ṭhānānga (Sthānānga), (4) Samavāyānga, (5) Bhagavatī or Viāhapannatti (Vyākhyāprajñapti), (6) Nāyādhammakahāo (Jñātādharmakathāh), (7) Uvāsagadasāo (Upāsakadasāh), (8) Antagaḍadasāo (Antakiddasāh), (9) Anuttarovavāiyadasāo (Anuttaraupapātikadasāh), (10) Panhavāgaranāim (Prasnavyākaraṇāni), (11) Vivāgasuyam (Vipākaśrutam), (12) Diṭṭhivāya (Drstivāda)

(ii) *The twelve Upāngas* (*Uvāngas*) or "*secondary limbs*" (1) Ovāiya or Uvavāiya (Aupapātika), (2) Rāyapasenaijja or Rāyapasenaiya (Rājaprasnīya), (3) Jīvābhigama, (4) Pannavanā (Prajñāpanā), (5) Sūrapannatti or Sūriyapannatti (Sūryaprajñapti), (6) Jambudīvapannatti (Jambudvīpaprajñapti), (7) Candapannatti (Candraprajñapti), (8) Niryāvali, (9) Kappavaḍamsiāo (Kalpāvatamsikāh), (10) Pupphiāo (Puspikāh), (11) Pupphacūliāo (Puspacūlikāh), (12) Vanhidasāo (Vrsnidasāh)

(iii) *The ten Painnās* (*Prakīrnas*) or "*Scattered pieces*" (1) Causarana (Catuhśarana) by Vīrabhadra, (2) Āurapaccakkhāna (Āturapratyākhyāna), (3) Bhattaparinnā (Bhaktaparijñā), (4) Samthara (Samstara), (5) Tandulaveyāliya (Tandulavaitālika), (6) Candavijjhaya, (7) Devindatthava (Devendrastava), (8) Ganivijjā (Ganividyā), (9) Mahāpaccakkhāna (Mahāpratyākhyāna), (10) Vīratthaa (Vīrastava)

(iv) *The six Cheya suttas* (*Cheda Sūtras*) (1) Nisīha (Nisītha), (2) Mahānisīha (Mahānisītha), (3) Vavahāra (Vyavahāra), (4) Āyāradasāo (Ācāradasāh) or Dasāsuyakkhandha (Dasāśrutaskandha), (5) Kappa (Kalpa or Brhatkalpa), (6) Pañcakappa (Pañcakalpa) Instead of the last-named the Jīyakappa (Jītakalpa) by Jinabhadra is also mentioned

(v) *Individual texts* (1) Nandi or Nandi Sutta (Nandi Sūtra), (2) Anuogadāra (Anuyogadvāra).

(vi) *The four Mūla Suttas* (*Mūla Sūtras*) (1) Uttarajjhaya (Uttarādhyāyah) or Uttarajjhayana (Uttarādhyayana), (2) Āvassaya (Āvaśyaka), (3) Dasaveyāliya (Dasavaikālika); (4) Pinda Nijjutti (Pinda Niryukti) The third and fourth Mūla Sūtras are also sometimes given as Oha Nijjutti (Ogha Niryukti) and Pakkhi (Pāksika Sūtra), and sometimes the Pinda Nijjutti and Oha Nijjutti appear in the list of the Cheya Suttas (vide Winternitz *History of Indian Literature*, Vol II, p 428ff). Cf also *Nandi* (Sū 43f) where the canonical works are divided into *Angas* and *Angabāhiriyas* (texts standing outside the *Angas*) or *Angapaviṭṭha* (belonging to the *Angas*) and *Anangapaviṭṭha* (not belonging to the *Angas*). The former is further divided into twelve *Angas* or *Dvādasānga* also known as *Ganipiḍaga* The latter is divided into *Āvassaya* and *Āvassayavairitta* The former is sub divided into six whereas the latter into two, viz. (1) *Kāliya* and (2) *Ukkāliya*. The *Kāliya* and *Ukāliya* have various divisions, out of which large number of works are not available at present

[2] Cf the list of the eighty four *Āgamas* consisting of 11 *Angas*, 12 *Uvāngas*, 5 *Cheya suttas*, 3 *Mūla suttas*, 30 *Painnagas*, 2 *Cūliya suttas*, *Pakkhiya sutta*, *Khamana sutta*, *Vandittu sutta*, *Isibhāsiya*, *Pajjosanakappa*, *Jīyakappa*, *Jaijīyakappa*, *Saddhajīyakappa*, 10 *Nijjuttis*, *Pinda. Nijjutti*, *Samsatta Nijjutti* and *Visesāvassaya Bhāsa* (H. R. Kapadia, *The Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, p. 58).

REDUCTION AND THE AGE OF THE JAIN CANON

According to the Jain tradition, the disciples of Mahāvīra, known as *Gaṇadharas* or heads of Schools, compiled the Master's words in the *Aṅgas* and *Upāṅgas*. Regarding the antiquity and the authority of the Canon, the Śvetāmbara Jains have the following tradition :

The original doctrine was contained in the fourteen *Puvvas* (*Pūrvas*) "old texts," which Mahāvīra himself had taught to his *Ganandharas*. The knowledge of the "old texts" was, however, soon lost. Only one of Mahāvīra's original disciples handed them down, and they were only preserved for six generations. Now in the second century after Mahāvīra's death, there was a terrible famine in Magadha which lasted for a long period. This seriously affected the study of the Jain monks who could hardly get sufficient alms for their maintenance. In fact, a number of monks, for want of food and drink, had to lose their precious lives In course of time, when the famine was over, a council was convoked at Pāṭaliputra after about 160 years of Mahāvīra's death (*i.e* , about 307 B.C) and the sacred lore which was in a state of decay, was put in order. We learn from the *Āvaśyaka Cūrni*[3] that during the period of a long terrible famine in Magadha the monks had left the country and had migrated to the sea-shore. After the end of the famine they assembled in Pāṭaliputra and by collecting a section (*uddesa*) from one and a portion (*khaṇḍa*) from another, compiled the eleven *Aṅgas*. But nobody remembered the *Diṭṭhivāya*. Thereupon a couple (*saṅghāḍaa*) of monks were sent to Bhadrabāhu, who knew the fourteen *Pūrvas* and who had already retired to Nepala in order to undertake the *Mahāprāṇavrata* (fast unto death). But Bhadrabāhu declined to teach *Diṭṭhivāya* since he was engaged in meditation. The monks returned and reported the matter to the Jain *Saṅgha* of Pāṭaliputra; whereupon two other monks were deputed to Bhadrabāhu to ask him what penalty could be prescribed for disobeying the order of the *Saṅgha* since he had committed the same offence. Later on, being threatened with ex-communication, Bhadrabāhu agreed to teach *Diṭṭhivāya* on certain conditions in seven instalments (*paḍipucchagāṇi*). Then five hundred monks were deputed to Nepala to learn *Diṭṭhivāya*, but gradually all except Sthūlabhadra dropped out who succeeded in learning all the *Pūrvas*. But as penalty for some offence which he had committed towards his teacher, he was made to give his word of honour not to teach the last four *Pūrvas* to anybody. Thus the knowledge of the *Pūrvas* went into a state of oblivion from the time of Sthūlabhadra.[4] This is known as the Pāṭaliputra version (*vācanā*) of the Jain Canons.

Then again in course of time, the sacred books of the Jains, again were reduced to a state of disorder and so between the year 827

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[3] II. pp 187 f. also cf. *Titthogāli painnaya* quoted in the article 'Vīra Nirvāṇa aur Jain Kāla gaṇanā,' by Kalyan Vijaya in the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vols. X-XI, pp. 94-103.

[4] For the loss of *Dṛṣṭivāda* see Weber's *Sacred Literature of the Jains*, pp. 54ff, reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1893, and C. J. Shah's *Jainism in North India*, p. 230.

and 840 after the death of Mahāvīra (*i.e.*, 360-373 A.D) another council was summoned at Mathurā under the presidentship of Ārya Skandila. We read in the *Nandi Cūrni* (p. 8) that during the time of terrible famine which lasted for a very long time it became difficult for the monks to obtain their alms, and so they were unable to continue the study of the scriptures and consequently a great portion of the canon was lost. In course of time, after the famine came to an end, a council was convened at Mathurā and whatever could be gathered from different monks, was collected and was fixed in the form of the Canon known as *Kāliyasuya*. According to another tradition, however, no Canon was lost during this period, but except Ārya Skandila most of eminent monks, versed in the *Āgama* (*Anuyogadharāh*) had lost their lives. This is known as the Māthurī version (*vācanā*) of the Canons.

Simultaneously, another council was summoned at Valabhī under the presidentship of Nāgārjuna Sūri in which the Canons were fixed and what was forgotten was compiled after careful edition [5] This fact is corroborated by the statement in the *Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka Ṭīkā* (p. 41) where it is stated that in the time of Skandila there was a terrible famine when the Jain monks had to discontinue their studies. Later on, at the end of the famine, one *Sangha* met at in Valabhī and another at Mathurā. According to Malayagiri, the author of the *Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka Ṭīkā*, *Anuyogadvāra* and other Canons are based on the Māthurī version, whereas the *Jyotiṣkaraṇḍa* on the Valabhī. This is known as Valabhī version (*vācanā*) of the Canons.[6]

Unfortunately after redaction of the Canons in these councils, Ācārya Skandila and Nāgārjuna could not get an opportunity to see each other and hence the two different versions of the Canons remained unreconciled. After one hundred and fifty years, in the year 980 (or 993) of Mahāvīra's death (*i e*, 513 or 526 A.D) another council was convoked at Valabhī under the able presidentship of Devardhigani Ksamāśramaṇa in which all the important works of the Jains then available were written down [7] In this council, as it has been pointed out, a serious attempt was made to reconcile the different readings of the two versions pertaining to the two councils. In cases where reconciliation was not possible, it was thought desirable to note the important variants either in the original *Āgamas* or in their commentaries In this council, however, the entire Jain canonical literature was written down according to the version of the Mathurā council, introducing the important variants generally by the words '*vāyanāntare puna*' (according to another version) or '*Nāgārjunīyāstvevam vadanti*' (the disciples of Nāgārjuna say so).[8]

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[5] *Kathāvali*, 298 after "Vīr Nirvāṇa" etc., pp 110f

[6] Cf. the Buddhist Councils held at Rājagaha, Vesāli and Pātaliputra in order to establish a Canon of the religion and of the discipline of the order, see H Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 101ff. The last council was held in the reign of King Asoka in the third century B.C.

[7] According to Hemacandra, however, the canons were actually written down in the form of books (*pustakeṣu nyastam*) in the last two councils (*yogaśāstra* 3, p. 206 a).

[8] See "Vīra Nirvāṇa" etc., pp. 112-118.

Thus we see that Devardhigaṇi was only a redactor and not the author of the Jain Canons, and the date of compilation of the *Āgamas* is much earlier than their redaction by Devardhigaṇi. To quote Prof. Jacobi, "Devardhi's position relative to the sacred literature of the Jainas appears therefore to us in a different light from what is generally believed to have been. He probably arranged the already existing manuscripts in a Canon, taking down from the mouth of learned theologians only such works of which manuscripts were not available. Of this Canon a great many copies were taken, in order to furnish every seminary with books which had become necessary by the newly introduced change in the method of religious instructions. Devardhi's edition of *Siddhānta* is therefore only a redaction of the sacred book which existed before his time in nearly the same form. Any single passage in sacred text may have been introduced by the editor, but the bulk of *Siddhānta* is certainly not of his making".[9] Thus the Canon which Devardhigani compiled and which has come down to us is the final result of a literary activity that must have started as soon as the Church was put on a sound footing. The earliest portion of the Canon may therefore quite possibly belong to the period of the first disciples of Mahāvīra himself, or at the latest to the second century after Mahāvīra's death, the period of Maurya Candragupta, when a council was summoned at Pātaliputra.[10]

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CANONS

The Canonical books of the Jains are important for many reasons. They represent the teachings of Mahāvīra and the ancient historical traditions regarding the religion of the Jains. The *Kalpa Sūtra*, for example, records Mahāvīra's life including his itinerary during his ascetic life, his predecessors, his *Gaṇadharas* or heads of the Schools and the list of the Patriarchs (*Therāvalī*) together with their *gaṇas*, *kulas* and *śākhās*. The *Bhagavatī Sūtra* in its different dialogues gives a vivid picture of the life and work of Mahāvīra, his relationship to his disciples and the contemporary kings and princes It contains a presentation of the Jain dogmas in the form of questions and answers between Mahāvīra and his disciple Indrabhūti. The *Thāṇāṅga* records the names of the eight kings ordained by Mahāvīra and various other important points of interest. The *Uvāsagadasāo* contains chapters on the lives of ten lay disciples of Mahāvīra, and the stories of the *Nāyādhammakahā* explain the teachings of the Lord. Further, the *Ācārāṅga*, the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* and the *Uttarādhyayana* contain the oldest part of the Canon from linguistic and literary points of view.[11] The last-mentioned Canon consists of valuable poems in the form of beautiful parables and similes, dialogues and ballads after the true manner of the ascetic poetry of ancient India. These poems have their parallels in the Buddhist and the Brahmanic literature and

9 *Jain Sūtras*, Vol. XXII, p. xxxix, also Winternitz, *op. cit*, pp 433f.
10 Winternitz, *op. cit*, p. 434f
11 See Jacobi, *op. cit.*, pp. xl-xliii; Winternitz; *op. cit.*, p. 431.

bear striking resemblance to the *Jātakas*, *Dhammapada*, *Suttanipāta* and the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*.[12] In the *Uttarādhyayana* we come across the story of king Nimi, one of the *Prateyaka Buddhas* in the Buddhist legends, in which the ideal of asceticism is preached Then there is the legend of Harikesa, the holy man of low caste, which bears an exact resemblance to the *Mātanga Jātaka* Similarly the chapters on Citra and Sambhūta and Isukāra belong to the great cycle of tales of king Brahmadatta, forming remarkable parallels to the *Jātakas*, the *Cittasambhūta Jātaka* and *Hatthipāla Jātaka*.[13] Then the meeting between Kesī, a pupil of Pārsva, and Goyama, a pupil of Mahāvīra and their discussion on various points of ancient and contemporary creed throws a flood of light on the past history of Jainism and may be considered valuable document for the history of ancient Jain tenets.[14] The *Rāyapaseṇiya* records a dialogue between Kesī and the king Paesī which reminds us of the Pāyāsi Sutta of the *Digha Nikāya*. It records another statement saying that a Brāhmana who had committed certain crimes should be branded with the image of a dog (*sunaga*) or a *kundiya* pot on his forehead,[15] which coincides with a similar statement in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*[16] This form of punishment, as has been remarked by Jarl Charpentier, does not occur in *Manu* and the later law-books, where corporal punishments on Brāhmanas are not permissible, which shows that the Jain Canons must be nearer to the time of Kautilya than that of the later *Dharmasāstras*. The *Rāyapaseṇiya* also contains various architectural and musical terms which are considerably old and are rarely found elsewhere Then the *Ovāiya* gives a beautiful description of king Kūṇiya and his pilgrimage to lord Mahāvīra in Campā The *Niryāvaliyāo* refers to the great battle between Kūṇiya and Cetaka when the eighteen confederate kings are stated to have sided with the latter Lastly, the *Cheda sūtras* belong to the earliest portion of the Canon, prescribing the rules of life and conduct for the monks and nuns and the prescriptions for atonement of sins. Here we come across the rules about the entire discipline of the order, which bear resemblance to the *Vinaya* of the Buddhists[17]

The *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra* (1 50) states that the monks and nuns may wander towards the east as far as Anga-Magadha, towards the south as far as Kosambī, towards the west as far as Thūṇā, towards the north as far as Kunālā This sermon is said to have been given by Mahāvīra to his disciples while he sojourned at the Subhūmibhāga garden at Sāketa, which apparently goes back to an old time when Jainism was

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[12] See Winternitz, *Some Problems of Indian Literature*, the chapter on Ascetic literature in Ancient India, also *History of Indian Literature*, II, pp 466-70, Jarl Charpentier, *Uttarā* pp 44ff, also Prof A M Ghatage's article 'A few parallels in Jain and Buddhist Works' in the *A B R S*, Vol XVII, 1936

[13] A number of verses are also found in common in early Pali literature and Ardhamāgadhī literature Cf for instance the verse '*dhiratthu te jasokāmi*' etc in the *Dasaveyāliya* (2 7) with the verse in the *Visavanta Jātaka* (I, No 69), p 311, also the verse '*kahammu kujja*' etc in the *Dasaveyāliya* (2 1) with the verse in the *Samyutta*, Nandana Vagga, Dukkaram, p 7

[14] Jarl charpentier, *op cit*, pp 46f., see also *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Ch. VI.

[15] Sū 184.

[16] Cf. p. 264.

[17] Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit*, p 442.

in its infancy and existed only in a very limited part of India round about the country of Magadha and a part of United Provinces. As a matter of fact, as it has been stated, it was Samprati, who encouraged the propagation of Jainism throughout the length and breadth of the country after he had come to power. Further, the first section of the *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra* which prescribes the eating of the broken or unbroken, raw and ripe palm-fruit (*tāla*) or the fibres (*palamba*) for the Jain monks and nuns, leads us to the olden days of terrible famine which visited Magadha and is said to have lasted for a long time, when Bhadrabāhu migrated to Nepala. These precepts indicate the hardest days through which the Jain monks and nuns had to pass and how they had to live on raw palm-fruits and fibres of the trees for their subsistence. Thus in the Jain Canon there are various traditions, historical or semi-historical presenting the political, administrative, social, economic and geographical conditions, throwing an immense light on ancient history and culture of India, which prove the antiquity of the Canons.

Lastly, a reference must be made to a large number of Inscriptions that have come to light The Mathura Inscriptions belonging to the reign of Kaniṣka and his successors prove that the Jain community had attained a highly developed stage in the first century A D. In these inscriptions are given the names of the Patriarchs belonging to different *gaṇas* (schools), *kulas* (families) and *śākhās* (branches), already referred to, which mostly coincide with the list of the teachers and the schools founded by those teachers as given in the *Kalpa Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu.[18] Thus we see that the tradition preserved in the Jain Canons is pretty old and contains much historicity and hence as Buddhist books have been used as materials for the history of Buddhism, there is no reason why we should distrust the Jain Canons as an authentic source of the Jain Church.

MODIFICATIONS IN THE JAIN CANONS AND THEIR AUTHENTICITY

It may be noted that there are references which go to show that the present Jain Canon is not the original Canon and has undergone considerable modifications We have noticed that different names are ascribed to one and the same Canon[19] and the number of the Canons varies considerably. The famous commentators Śīlānka, Malayagiri and Abhayadeva point out different versions (*vācanābheda*) in the Canons stating that a number of the *Sūtras* had became corrupt (*galitāni*) and a number of them were unintelligible (*durlakṣa*).[20] Then the contents

[18] *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol III, plates xiii-xv ; Buhler, *The Indian Sect of the Jains*, pp 42 60 , *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol III and IV, article by Buhler.

[19] For example *Rāyapaseṇiya* is rendered into Sanskrit by the names *Rājapraśnīya* (Malayagiri), *Rājapraśenakīya* (Siddhasena Gaṇi) and *Rājaprasenajit* (Municandra Sūri), Bechardas, *Rāya* Intro p 8f

[20] *Jñā Ṭī* 9 257, p 419a , *Sūya. Ṭī* II, 2, p. 335a , *Rāya Ṭī.*, pp. 239, 259, 236, etc , Abhayadeva has recorded that it was most difficult for him to explain the texts faithfully since they were full of inaccuracies, traditions were lost and there were different versions (*Nāyā Praśasti* at the end of the text , *Ṭhā. Ṭī.* 10, p 499a).

of the Canons do not correspond to the table of contents referred to in the *Ṭhāṇāṅga*, *Samavāyāṅga* or *Nandi*.[21] For instance, according to the *Nandi*,[22] the *Nāyādhammakahā* contained three crores and a half *padas* (apparently an exaggeration), whereas at present it contains only twenty chapters. The commentator finding himself at a loss to explain this simply refers to some old tradition on the matter. The same thing can be said regarding the number of *padas* of the *Bhagavatī*.[23] Then the *Panhvāgaraṇa* does not correspond either to the title of the work or to the table of contents as stated in the *Ṭhānānga*[24] or the *Nandi*.[25] Like the *Panhavāgaraṇa*, the *Antagaḍadasāo* and a major part of the *Anuttarovavāiya-dasāo* also seem to have lost their texts since their present contents do not tally with those recorded in the commentary on the *Thāṇāṅga*.[26] The names of the characters in the stories are quite different ; and its explanation given by Abhayadeva is the difference of *vācanā*. The same incongruity is recorded regarding the *Niryāvali Śrutaskandha*.[27] Then, we are told about the *Jambuddīvapannatti*, a portion of which is restored with the help of the *Jīvābhigama* and other Canons.[28]

√ | Besides these modifications and interpolations in the *Āgamas*, certain Canons or parts of the Canons have become totally obsolete, and perhaps there is no possibility of their being restored now. We have already seen that the *Ditthivāya* was missing from the time of Sthūlabhadra. Then Mahāparinnā, the seventh chapter of the *Ācārāṅga*, does not exist any more; *Dogiddhidasā* and a portion of the remaining nine *Dasās* referred to in the *Thāṇāṅga*[29] are extinct now ; the *Pañcakappa* is not available and some works of *Kāliya* and *Ukkāliya Suya* referred to above are lost. Then some portion of *Mahānisīha* and of the *Painnās* is missing Besides, we do not see any traditional chronological order in the Canons pertaining to priority or posteriority of their compilation. On the other hand, the references to the *Āgamas* which are considered of late origin are found in those which are said to belong to the early period. For instance, the *Sūyagaḍaṅga* refers to *Uvavāiya*[30] and the *Bhagavatī* to *Pannavaṇā*,[31] *Jīvābhigama*,[32] *Jambuddīvapannatti*,[33] *Rāyapaseṇijja*,[34] *Uvavāiya*,[35] *Nandi*,[36] and *Anuogadāra*.[37]

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21 Cf the remark of Abhayadeva, *Bhag* 1 p 10, Bechardas ed , also see Akalanka s *Rājavārtika*, p 51
22 *Malaya Ṭī Sū*. 51, p 230a f.
23 See Bechardas, *Bhag* IV, Introduction, p. 20
24 10, p 484a
25 Malaya Ṭī Sū 55, p 233a f.
26 10, p 482a
27 *ibid*, p 485a
28 *Jambu* 2, p 117a.
29 10, 484a
30 II, 1 p. 275a.
31 6 2
32 10 7
33 9. 1
34 8. 2.
35 9 6
36 8. 2.
37 5. 4.

Thus we notice that the present Canons have undergone considerable changes and hence certainly cannot be claimed as the original texts of the Canons. But at the same time, it may be remarked that simply on this account the value of the canonical literature should not be minimised. As a matter of fact, the record of contradictory and inconsistent traditions and opinions in the Canons only prove that the Jains did not dare to make arbitrary changes in the texts, but handed them down as faithfully as they could.[38]

THE DATE OF THE CANONS

It should be borne in mind that the Jain Canons collectively do not belong to one particular period. In fact, each part of the Canon should be judged on its own merit after going through its contents carefully We notice that certain Jain texts are ascribed to later authors by traditions themselves. For instance, the *Pannavanā*, is ascribed to Ajja Sāma (Ārya Śyāma) who is said to have lived 376 or 386 years after Mahāvīra's death. The *Dasāśrutaskandha*, the *Piṇḍa Nijjutti* and the *Ogha Nijjutti* are ascribed to Bhadrabāhu (second century after Mahāvīra's death), the *Dasaveyāliya* to Sejjambhava (Śayyambhava), who is counted as the fourth head of the Church after Mahāvīra, and the *Nandi* to Devardhigani, the president of the Council of Valabhī in the tenth century after the death of Mahāvīra (*i.e.* the beginning of the 6th century A D.)

To sum up, the canonical works of the Jains have not originated at one period; their traditions can be traced back to Mahāvīra and his disciples, or to say more correctly to the period of Candragupta when tradition places the council of Pāṭaliputra. But afterwards the sacred books of the Jains had to undergo considerable changes and as a result of which several works or portions of the works were added to them from time to time. Finally, the Canons were written down by Devardhigani in the sixth century A D. which must be taken as the latest date of the *Siddhānta*.

THE EXEGETICAL LITERATURE OF THE CANONS

The exegetical literature on the Canons is very extensive. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to interpret the Canons without the support of the commentaries, and it is for this reason that the commentaries are included in the present thesis. On the whole the commentary literature seems to be quite trustworthy since the commentators have tried to preserve the old traditions and the stock of tales and legends current in those days. The commentators while illustrating the tenets of the Canon have referred to old compositions (*pūrvaprabandha*), ancient traditions (*vṛddhasampradāya*) and ancient explanations (*vṛddhavyākhyā*), which is

[38] Cf. Winternitz, *op cit*, p. 434.

an evidence to prove their authenticity. The commentators have frequently quoted the differences of opinions (*kecit*) and wherever they have failed to give satisfactory explanation of the texts they have had recourse to the authority of the older tradition (*sampradāyagamya*) or the words of an omniscient being (*kevalin*).

The exegetical literature which includes some of the important commentaries such as the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, and its *Vṛtti*, the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* and its *Vivarana*, the *Niśītha Cūrni*, the *Āvaśyaka Cūrni*, and the commentaries on the *Āvaśyaka* and *Uttarādhyayana*, is undoubtedly a mine of rich treasure in itself. In these works we come across various customs and beliefs prevalent in those days in different parts of India, various feasts and festivals, religious sects, wandering ascetics, descriptions of famine, robbers and dacoits, the inaccessible roads, mountains and deserts, economic production, industry, trade-routes, dress, ornaments, food, and various other matters of importance, which have nothing to do with religion as such, but are of general interest to the man on the street. The commentary literature is also important from the point of view of the voluminous and comprehensive narrative literature that it contains. According to Dr. Winternitz, many a gem of the narrative art of ancient India has come down to us by way of the Jaina commentary and narrative literature, which would otherwise have been consigned to oblivion [39] The commentary literature like the canonical literature is also important from the point of view of the history of Indian languages. The canonical literature and its earliest commentaries are written in Prākrta language, which is very useful in tracing the history of the modern Indian vernaculars.

The commentarial literature on the Canons consists of four parts, *viz*., (1) *Nijjutti*, (2) *Bhāsa*, (3) *Cunni*, and (4) *Tīkā*; including the Canons this literature is known as *Pañcāngī* or consisting of the five parts.

(1) NIJJUTTI

The oldest explanatory literature on the sacred texts is represented by *Nijjuttis* which consists of a very concise explanation in verses. These *Nijjuttis* contain a number of historical or legendary tales elucidating Jain doctrines and moral or disciplinary rules given in the Jain Canons. The *Nijjuttis* were probably memorial verses which were learnt by heart by the teachers who used them in their oral interpretation of the Canons. [40] It is suggested that since the *Nijjuttis* are aboslutely unintelligible without the support of the commentary, there must have been an extensive commentary where all tales and legends referred to in *Nijjuttis* must have been told at length.[41] But unfortunately we have no means of ascertaining the existence and nature of these hypothetical commentaries

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39 *ibid*, p. 487.

40 Winternitz, *op. cit.*, P. 483 , cf. *Nirutti* in Pali, a work on exegesis, ascribed to Mahā Kaccāyana, and divided into two parts : *Cūla nirutti* and *Mahā nirutti*, Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 79.

41 Jarl Charpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 50 f.

and how far they were epitomised in the present *Niryuktis*.[42] The *Nijjuttis* served as the foundation for several other later commentaries. The following are the ten *Nijjuttis* : (1) *Āyārānga*, (2) *Sūyagaḍanga*, (3) *Sūriyapannatti*, (4) *Uttarājjhayaṇa*, (5) *Āvassaya*, (6) *Dasaveyāliya*, (7) *Dasāsuyakkhandha*, (8) *Kappa*, (9) *Vavahāra* and (10) *Isibhāsiya*. The tradition is unanimous in attributing the authorship of the *Nijjuttis* to Bhadrabāhu, who seems to be different from Bhadrabāhu, the last *Śrutakevalin*, who died 170 years after Mahāvīra's death (*i.e.*, 297 B.C.), and who was the author of the *Cheda Sūtras*.

When we study the contents of the *Nijjuttis* we notice that they refer to the later traditions. For instance, the *Uttarādhyayana Niryukti*[43] refers to the story of the Bhadrabāhu's four disciples, and Śakatāla and Sthūlabhadra, and the *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*[44] to Bhadragupta, Ārya Simhagiri, Vajraswāmin, Tosaliputrācārya, Ārya Rakṣita, Phalgurakṣita and others, who were the successors of Bhadrabāhu. We also find a reference here to the origin of the Digambaras and the seven schisms in the Jain Church which undoubtedly represents the tradition much later than Bhadrabāhu, the author of the *Cheda Sūtras*.[45]

(2) Bhāsa

After *Nijjutti*, comes *Bhāsa*, the next chronological stage of development in the commentarial literature on the Jain Canons. Like *Nijjutti*, the *Bhāsas* were also written in Prākrta verses. However, it should be noted, that a number of verses of *Nijjutti* and *Bhāsa* have so much intermingled with each other that it is difficult to distinguish them from one another. This is corroborated by the statement in the Commentary on the *Bṛhatkapla Bhasya*[46] by Malayagiri. Similarly, the verses of the *Bhāṣya* on the *Dasaveyāliya* have been incorporated in its *Niryukti*[47] and the same muddle is noticed regarding the verses of the *Bhāṣya* on the *Āvassaya sutta* and its *Nijjutti*.[48]

The following eleven *Āgamas* seem to have contained their *Bhāsas* :— (1) *Āvassaya*, (2) *Dasaveyāliya*, (3) *Uttarajjhayana* (4) *Kappa* (5) *Pañcakappa* (6) *Vavahāra* (7) *Nisīha* (8) *Pañcamaṅgalasuyakkhandha* (9) *Jīyakappa* (10) *Oha Nijjutti* and (11) *Pinda Nijjutti*[49] The Bhāsas on the *Bṛhat-*

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[42] Prof A M Ghatage's article "The Dasavaikālika Niryukti," p 629, *I H Q* , Vol , XI 1935

[43] 91, 100.

[44] 764-776 , also cf *Uttarā. Nir.* 96f

[45] See Muni Punya Vijaya's learned article in the *Mahāvira Jain Vidyālaya Rajata Mahotsava Smāraka Grantha*, 1915-40 ; Jarl Charpentier's *Introduction to the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, p 49 f. Bhadrabāhu, the author of the *Nijjuttis* is placed in the fourth century A D (See Prof. Ghatage, *op cit*) However, according to Leumann, the *Nijjuttis* were compiled in about 80 A D. (Schubring, *op. cit.*, p 60)

[46] *Pīṭhikā*, p 2.

[47] p 278.

[48] See H. R. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 172 ; Prof. A. M. Ghatage's article on Sūtrakṛtānga Niryukti in *I.H.Q* , Vol. XII, 1936, p. 270 ff.

[49] See H. R. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

Kalpa Sūtra, *Vyavahāra Sūtra* and *Nisītha Sūtra* are very important as they contain most valuable information regarding various topics, particularly the life of monks and nuns and the society of those early days. The *Bhāṣya* on the *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra* is written by Sanghadāsagaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa ;[60] most of the *Bhāsas*, however, are annonymous.

(3) Cuṇṇi

After Bhāsa comes *Cuṇṇi*, an intermediate stage between the two periods, *Bhāsa* on one hand and the *Ṭīkā* on the other. *Cuṇṇi* is an intermixture of prākrt and Sanskrt languages pointing out an important era in the history of the Jain annals when by slow stages Sanskrt was taking the place of Prākrt in the history of the Jain literature.

The following *Āgamas* contain *Cuṇṇis* :—

(1) *Āyāra*, (2) *Sūyagaḍa*, (3) *Viāhapannatti*, (4) *Jīvābhigama*, (5) *Jambuddivapannatti*, (6) *Nisīha*, (7) *Mahānisīha*, (8) *Vavahāra*, (9) *Dasāsuyakkhandha*, (10) *Kappa*, (11) *Pañcakappa*, (12) *Oha Nijjutti*, (13) *Pañcamangalasuyakkhandha*, (14) *Jīyakappa*, (15) *Uttarajjhayana*, (16) *Āvassaya*, (17) *Dasaveyāliya*, (18) *Nandi*, (19) *Anuogadāra* and (20) *Pakkhiya Sutta*[51]. Out of these a very few *Cuṇṇis* have seen the light of day so far Some of them have been edited by Muni Ānandasagaraji from Rutlam A cyclostyled copy of the *Nisīha Cuṇṇi* available in some of the Bhandaras and Libraries, has been edited by Ācārya Vijayaprema Sūrīsvara, which is utilised in the present thesis. Most of the published *Cuṇṇis* are ascribed to Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara.[52] Out of the available *Cuṇṇis* the *Āvassaya* and *Nisīha* are most important as they contain a most valuable treasure of information from the point of view of Jain history and culture The *Nisītha* refers to Ārya Kālaka, a contemporary of king Sālivāhana of paiṭṭhāna, who proceeded to Persia (*Pārasakūla*) and returned with ninety kings (*Sāha*) to take revenge on king Gaddabhilla of Ujjeṇī, who is said to have abducted Kālaka's sister and kept her in his harem. The *Āvassaya Cuṇṇi* records a tradition of flood in Sāvitthi after thirteen years of which Mahāvīra attained *kevalahood*[53] It also refers to important kings and princes contemporary to Mahāvīra and various other traditions. The *Cuṇṇis* are also important from the point of view of philological studies.

(4) Ṭīkā

Haribhadra Sūri (705-775 A.D.) was a most distinguished and versatile writer, who is considered to have written for the first time

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[60] This is edited with the *Vrtti* of Malayagiri and Kṣemakīrti in the Ātmānanda Jain Granthamālā by learned scholar Muni Punyavijayaji

[51] See H R. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p 190.

[52] The *Āvasyaka Cūrni*, according to Leuman, belongs to 600 650 A.D. (Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 60), *cf* a verse from the *Manusmrti* (IV 85. also *Mahābhā*. XIII. 141. 19) is quoted in the *Ācārānga Cunni* (p. 97), also from the *Pratijñāyauganadharāyaṇa* (3 9) of Bhāsa (Poona, 1937) in the *Āvasyaka Cūrni* II, p 162).

[53] Cf. also the same tradition recorded in the *Maccha Jātaka* (Vol. I, No. 75).

the commentaries on the Canons in Sanskrt, retaining the Prākrt narratives in their original form. He has written commentaries on *Āvassaya*, *Dasaveyāliya*, *Nandi* and *Anuyoga* He is also said to have written a commentary on the *Pannavanā*, which is now lost.[54] After Haribhadra comes Śīlānka Sūri, who lived about a century later and wrote commentaries on the first two *Angas* with the help of Vāharigani in about 862 or 872 A D. He is also said to have written commentaries on the remaining ten Angas which are lost now. Then we come to the commentators Vādivetāla Śānti Sūri and Devendragani, otherwise known as Nemicandra Sūri in the eleventh century. They wrote separate but exhaustive commentaries on the *Uttarajjhayana* retaining the narratives in Prākrt, in the manner of Haribhadra Sūri The famous Abhayadeva Sūri also belongs to this period He wrote commentaries on nine *Angas* (III-XI) and the *Ovāiya* His commentaries on the latter and the *Nāyādhammakahā* were revised by great Dronācārya, the author of the commentary on the *Ogha Nijjutti* Then comes Maladhāri Hemacandra, a senior contemporary of Ācārya Hemacandra and a pupil of Abhayadeva, who commented on *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* Malayagiri was another important author who wrote commentaries on six *Upāngas* (II-VII) His commentary on the *Jambuddīvapannatti* is said to have been lost, and that on the *Pannavanā* is based on Haribhadra's. He also wrote commentaries on *Vyavahāra Bhāsya*, *Pinda Nijjutti*, *Āvasyaka*, *Brhatkalpa Bhāsya* (incomplete) and *Nandi* He completed his commentary on *Nandi* in 1235 A D[55] Ksemakīrti completed the commentary on the *Brhatkalpa Bhāsya* in 1276 A D Then Vijayavimala wrote his commentaries on the *Tandulaveyāliya* and *Gacchāyāra* in 1578 A D ; Santicandra, a pupil of Hīravijaya on the *Jambuddīvapannatti* in 1594 A D, and Samaya Sundaragani on the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the 17th century A D.[56] Besides, a large number of *Dīpikās*, *Vrttis*, *Tīkās*, and *Avacūris* were written on the canonical literature of the Jains, several of which do not exist now In the *Tīkā* literature, the commentaries on the *Āvassaya*, *Uttarajjhayana*, *Brhatkalpa Bhāsya*, *Vyavahāra Bhāsya*, *Thānānga*, *Bhagavatī*, *Jambudvīpaprajñapti* and *Kalpa Sūtra* are most valuable since they have recorded various important traditions

Thus the period of the Jain Canons and their commentaries extends from the second century B C to the seventeenth century A D.

CONCLUSION

Before we enter into a detailed study of the Jain *Sūtras*, the following points must be borne in mind·

The object of presenting this thesis is simply to exhaust the social, political, economic, religious and geographical material presented in the

[54] The Commentary of Malayagiri on *Pannavanā*. p 611.

[55] Winternitz, *op cit*, p 592

[56] For other commentaries on the Kalpa Sūtra see the Introduction to the *Kalpa Sūtra* by Prof. H. D. Velankar, Surat, 1939.

Jain *Sūtras,* and no chronological order of the *Āgamas* is claimed in the present work.

During the course of three recensions the present Jain *Sūtras* have undergone considerable changes, and so there is much confusion regarding the stock lists and other material presented in the *Sūtras*; moreover, the *Āgamas* have not been critically edited so far

The commentary period should not be taken as one with the *Sūtra* period. The commentators belong to a much later period when many of the traditions belonging to the *Āgamas* had been lost

Inspite of the three recensions which the Jain texts had undergone and the consequent changes which were effected in the body of the texts from time to time it would not be an exaggeration to say that much of the material which they embody point to a much early civilization than the sixth century A D , when the final redaction of the texts was effected Our comparison of the social material in the Jain *Sūtras* with the material of the same in the Buddhist *Tripitaka* which as pointed out by the scholars is definitely old For instance, the reference to the architectural terms in the Jain *Sūtras* with their comparison with the architectural terms in the Pali *Suttas* should convince us of the truthfulness of our assertion. It is not the purpose of the present work to make a comparative study of the parallel features of the Jain and Buddhist *Sūtras* which should form a separate study by itself. But wherever possible such parallelisms have been pointed out

Finally, one thing should be borne in mind, while studying the Jain *Sūtras* that the age of every part of it should be judged on its own merits with the help of other literature and when the converging evidence supports the genesis of the tradition, then alone its age could be approximately fixed.

SECTION II

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

CHAPTER I CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER II FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER III ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

CHAPTER IV MILITARY ORGANISATION

CHAPTFR V LOCAL GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION

The Jain Canons, in the manner of the *Jātakas*, are not administrative manuals like the *Arthaśāstra* or the *Dharmasūtras* which can supply us with a full, connected and systematic account of the various aspects of administration. Whatever meagre account of the details of the administrative machinery is found in these texts is furnished by the stories which are told in quite an off-hand manner reflecting the normal life of the day. As a matter of fact, the Jains like the followers of other *Śramanic* religions concentrated more on the problems of penace and renunciation and they never showed lively interest in worldly affairs. In the following pages an attempt is made to arrange the meagre and isolated information supplied by the Jain Canons in a systematic order, supplementing it with the information available from other sources.

CHAPTER I

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

I

KING AND KINGSHIP

According to Jain tradition, Usabha was the first king who ruled over Ikkhāgabhūmi, the first capital of India. Before that there was no kingdom or king, punishment or punisher. It was a state when all people without exception pursued the path of *dharma* and conducted themselves towards one another in righteous manner. But in course of time, the people violated the laws laid by the *Kulakaras*, and yielded to all sorts of unhealthy feelings. At this time people approached Nābhi, the father of Usabha and the latter was anointed on the throne. It was Usabha who taught people for the first time various arts and crafts and promulgated the system of punishment by confinement of a criminal to a particular area (*maṇḍalabandha*).[1]

In ancient India a king was absolutely necessary and was considered an essential factor for the well-being of the people. It is further stated, that a king engrossed in women, gambling, wine and hunting was considered unfit to look after the affairs of the State.[2] It is said that the maternal and paternal lineage of a king must be stainless, he must be satisfied with accepting one-tenth from his subjects, and must be well-versed in general customs (*lokācāra*), philosophical system (*Veda*) and politics.[3] According to the *Ovāiya*, king Kūṇika had all the qualifications of royalty, was honoured by people, belonged to a pure *Kṣatriya* family, was duly consecrated on the throne and was compassionate. He was a warden of the marchers (*sīmankara*), upholder of peace (*khemandhara*), and protector of the *janapada* (*janavayapāla*) He was the master of palaces (*bhavana*), bed-rooms (*sayana*), seats (*āsana*), carriages (*jāṇa*) and vehicles (*vāhana*) in large quantity. His treasury was full of gold and silver, and his people had ample food. He was the master of slaves of both sexes, cows, buffaloes, oxen and sheep. His treasury (*kosa*), granaries (*koṭṭhāgāra*) and armouries (*āuhaghara*) were brimming to the full.[4]

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[1] *Jambu Sū*, 2, 29; *Āva cū*, pp 153 157 Similar description is found in the *Mahābhārata* when the *Devas* became subjected to fear due to lawlessness (*arājakatā*) and approached Vishnu, who appointed Pṛthu as the first king of the earth, under whose rule the whole earth was tilled and cultivated with seventeen kinds of grains At this time Brahmā composed a science for the social advancement and well-being of the world in hundred thousand chapters (*Mahābhā* Śānti p 1. viii)

[2] *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1. 940 Cf Woman, dice, hunting and drink, the four sins are reprehensible in a king; *Mahābhā*. III. 13 7.

[3] *Vya. Bhā.*, 1. p. 128af.

[4] *Sū*. 6.

VICEROYALTY AND SUCCESSION

According to the *Jātakas*, kingship was generally hereditary in character. Normally if the prince was the only son of his father, he became the Viceroy, and after his father's death succeeded to the throne. But if he had one or more brothers or step-brothers, there was an outburst of jealousy[5] after the death of the king which soon developed into bitter fratricidal wars. Ordinarily, if nothing untoward happened, after the death of his father, the eldest succeeded to the throne and the younger was anointed as Viceroy.[6] The Jain texts mention two types of kings, viz., *sāvekkha* and *niravekkha*. The former established the crown-prince on the throne within his life time; this avoided civil war and other calamities. In the latter type the crown-prince succeeded after the death of the king.[7] In the event of a king having more than two sons, usually, the king, if he was living, put them to test and selected one to be the Viceroy. The *Vyavahāra Bhāsya* refers to a king who put his three princes to test. He served them with a splendid dinner and while the princes were dining, he let loose furious dogs on them. The first prince left his dinner and ran away, the second stopped the dogs with sticks and finished his dinner, the third continued his dinner and also allowed the dogs to feed. The king was pleased with the last one and made him the heir-apparent.[8]

ABDICATION

Sometimes, after the death of the king, the elder son was overcome by a feeling of disgust for the kingdom and renounced the world. In that case the kingdom was offered to his younger brother.[9] In some cases the elder brother, who had taken to asceticism came back and was tempted to seize the kingdom. We are told that Kuṇḍarīka and Puṇḍarīka were two princes of Sāgeya. The former joined the ascetic order, but after some time he returned and wanted his kingdom back. Puṇḍarīka, the younger prince retired in his favour and took to the ascetic life.[10] Then there were instances of kings abdicating in favour of the heirs-apparent and of young princes prematurely following the path of renunciation and refusing consecration.[11]

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5 Cf a prince employed a shepherd and made his elder brother blind (*Uttarā Ṭī*, 5, p. 103).

6 *P.B.I*, pp 94f, 99.

7 *Vya Bhā.*, 2 327

8 3.210, also cf 4 207. The *Pādañjali Jātaka* (II, 247) refers to a young prince who was told by the ministers that he would be consecrated only on satisfying certain tests which pertain to the administration of justice But the prince was incapable of distinguishing between the two judgments, one correct and the other incorrect and consequently lost his chance to the kingship

9 See *Uttarā. Ṭī*, 18, P. 246.

10 *Nāyā.*, 19.

11 Cf. the renunciation of Sāla and Mahāsāla, *Āva. cū.*, p. 381.

RELATION BETWEEN KINGS AND PRINCES

The whole problem of succession was complicated by ambitions, jealousies and the practice of renunciation.[12] The *Vivāgasuya* refers to prince Nandivaddhaṇa of Mathurā, who wanted to take the life of his father and rule over the kingdom. But he was detected and was executed.[13] Similarly, the prince Kūniya of Rāyagiha put his father into prison and was consecrated on the throne.[14] Sometimes the king, out of fear, banished the unruly prince and asked him to live in another place. The *Āvasyaka Cūrni* refers to the prince Seniya, who, being afraid of his father, fled away to Bennāyaḍa and lived there with a merchant.[15] Then the princes Mūladeva and Agadadatta of Ujjenī and Sankhapura respectively are said to have been banished by their fathers.[16]

SUCCESSION BY PRIMOGENITURE

It has been pointed out that as a general custom, the kingdom descended directly to the king's eldest son and all was right if the king had an heir, but if he died heirless, it was a great problem for the ministers.[17] Under such circumstances, finding no other alternative, the heirless kings were often advised by their ministers to beget sons through the medium of the monks. If the monks did not agree to the proposal they were brought to the palace under the pretext of hearing religious discourses or being asked to worship some holy image. Of the monks those who were full of youth and energies were forced to cohabit with the inmates of the palace under the threat of execution ; those unwilling were even beheaded [18] The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to another interesting practice of succession It is said that a certain king had three princes who joined the ascetic order. In course of time, the king died and it so happened that the three ascetic princes arrived in the city and sojourned in a garden. When the ministers came to learn of the arrival of the princes, they approached them along with the royal insignia and requested them to come back and accept the sceptre The first prince succumb-

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[12] According to Kautilya's *Arthasastra* (pp 32 ff) the king should guard himself against his own sons Kautilya, quoting the opinions of Visalaksa and Parāsara, says that the unruly princes are constant danger to the king and they should be kept under guard in a definite place or fort

[13] 6, p 39

[14] *Āva cū* , II, p 171 , in the *Thūsa Jataka* (No 338, III, p 122) a sixteen years old prince tries various expedients to kill his father

[15] p 546

[16] *Uttarā* 18, 4, p 83 a ff , 3, p 59 ff In the *Succaja Jātaka* (III, No. 320, p. 67) a prince governor comes to the capital Benares, to pay his respects to his father. The latter thinks, "this fellow may do me wrong if he gets an opportunity." So he asks him to live somewhere else, and return at his death and rule the kingdom The prince obeys and leaves Benares with his chief wife.

[17] Cf *Naya.*, 14, p. 153 f

[18] *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 4. 4948 , also cf *Kusa Jātaka* (No. 531, V, 278 ff); also cf. the evil results a monk visiting the king's harem (*Anguttara*, V, p 81ff).

ed to temptation as he could not stand the ascetic life, the second did not move from his resolve, whereas the third was concealed by his preceptor in some nunnery.[19]

SUCCESSION OF SISTER'S SON

Sometimes, in the absence of a son, the nephew succeeded to the throne. The commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana* refers to Gaggali, the sister's son of Sāla and Mahāsāla of Piṭṭhicampā. They called upon Gaggali and after installing him on the throne joined the ascetic order.[20] Then the *Bhagavatī* refers to king Uddāyana of Vībhaya, who, although he had a son, anointed his sister's son on the throne and joined the order of Mahāvīra. It is said, that fearing that his son would become infatuated with royal power, and being thus addicted to human pleasure, would roam about in the endless ocean of this world, Uddāyana did not appoint him the heir-apparent.[21]

WOMEN AND SUCCESSION

When there was no heir to the king, who could succeed to the throne, sometimes, though very rarely his daughter succeeded him. The *Mahānisīha* alludes to a widowed daughter of a king, who, in order to save her family from blasphemy, wanted to commit Suttee. But since this custom was not prevalent in the family of the king, he stopped her from doing so. After some time the king died heirless and his widowed daughter was established on the throne.[22]

CHOICE BY DIVINE WILL

There was another custom of choosing a successor to the vacant throne. It was the choice by the horse[23] which was made to roam about the town. The commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana* refers to prince Mūladeva of Pādaliputta who was consecrated on the throne of Bennāyaḍa in this manner. It is said that when the king died heirless, the five divine articles (*kakuha*) were prepared and were taken out in a procession. At last the royal officers reached a place where Mūladeva was sitting under the shade of a tree. Seeing him there, the elephant trumpeted, the horse neighed, the pitcher sprinkled water, the chowries fanned and the parasol placed itself above him. Then the people pro-

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[19] 3. 3760-71, also cf *Vya Bhā*, 3 192, p 40
[20] 10. p. 153 f.
[21] 13. 6.
[22] P 30. It is stated in the *Jātakas* "infamous is the land which owns a woman's sway and rule, and infamous are the men who yield themselves to women's dominion" (*Kaṇḍina Jātaka*, I, No. 13, p 155), but sometimes we come across examples when women wielded the actual sovereignty On Udaya's death no king was set up and we are told the commands of his widow Udayabhaddā were promulgated (*Udaya Jātaka* No. 458, IV, p. 105).
[23] In the *Kathākośa* (trans. Tawney. p 4 and note) an elephant with a pitcher of water roams about for seven days and chooses a person.

nounced the cries of victory and Mūladeva was mounted on the elephant and was taken to the town where he was declared sovereign by the ministers and tributary kings (*mantisāmanta*).[24] Then we are told about the prince Karakaṇḍu who succeeded to the throne of Kañcaṇapura. In this case, the horse came as usual and after moving round the prince stopped in front of him. The citizens noticed specific marks on his body, the cries of victory were uttered and the musical instrument *nandi* was beaten. At this time the prince got up from his slumber and was taken to the town where he was consecrated on the throne.[25] Then the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* refers to Ṇhāviyadāsi Nanda, who sat on the throne of Pāḍaliputta. It is said that the horse turned his back (*patthim addeti*) towards him and he was declared sovereign.[26] Further we hear of the robber Mūladeva, who was being taken by the police officers for execution, but at this time, luckily the king died heirless and as customary the horse was taken around the town, which turned its back towards Mūladeva who succeeded to the throne.[27]

CONSECRATION CEREMONY

The ceremony of consecration was an important function in ancient India. The *Jambuddīvapannatti* describes the consecration of Bharata, the Universal Monarch. He entered the consecration hall when various kings, the *senāpati*, the *purohita*, the eighteen guilds (*senippaseni*), the merchants and others sprinkled with fragrant water and hailed him with cries of victory. It is said that people placed a royal crown on his head, rubbed his body with soft and hairy clothes dyed with fragrant saffron (*pahmalasukumālagandhakāsāia*), put on a garland around his neck and adorned his body with various ornaments. On this occasion the citizens were exempted from taxes and a festival was declared lasting for a long period.[28] Then we hear of the coronation ceremony of Mehakumāra in the *Nāyādhammakahā*. It is said that before Mehakumāra renounced the world, at the request of his parents, he was installed on the throne for one single day. He was given a bath with eight hundred pitchers made of gold, silver and gems etc.; he was sprinkled over with water brought from various holy places and earth, flowers, perfumes,

[24] 3 p. 63 a The *Ovā. Sū*, II, p 44 mentions sword (*khagga*), umbrella (*chatta*), crown (*upphesa*), shoes (*vāhana*) and chowries (*vālavīana*), as the five insignia of a king, cf *Milindapañha*, p 330

[25] *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 9 p 134

[26] II p. 180

[27] *Vya Bhā*, 4 169 In the *Darīmukha Jātaka* (III, No 378, p 239) this ceremony is called the *phussaratha* or the festal car ceremony Seven days after the death of an heirless king, the *Purohita* let a festal car, the *phussaratha*, be driven accompanied by four-fold army amidst the beating of many hundred drums It was expected to go to man destined to be the king The man whom the car singled out by stopping near him was made king, also *Mahājanaka Jātaka* (No. 534, VI, p 39), also see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol V, Ch. lxv, pp. 175-7, note on *Pañcadivyādhivāsa*, *J A O S*, Vol 33, pp. 158-66.

[28] Sū, 3. 68, pp. 267a-270.

garlands, herbs, and mustard were cast over his head, and he was consecrated with all pomp and ceremony amidst the beating of the instrument *dundubhi*.[29]

RESIDENCE PALACE

The palaces are described in the Jain Canons as seven-storyed, adorned with towers and pinnacles and supported by many columns They are described as lofty, touching the sky and decorated with flags, banners, umbrellas and garlands. They had domes (*thūbhiyā*) and their floors were richly studded with various gems and jewels.[30] The Jain texts mention several types of palaces. The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* refers to the palaces of *Cakravartins*, *Vāsudevas*, *Māṇḍalikas* and ordinary persons These palaces are described as one hundred and eight, sixty-four, thirty-two and sixteen hands high in succession.[31] A distinction is made between a *prāsāda* and a *bhavana*; the former is said to have belonged to gods whereas the latter to kings. A *prāsāda* was usually high and its height was double its width, whereas the height of a *bhavana* was a little less than its width.[32]

The harem (*anteura* : *oroha*) which was a part of the royal pomp,[33] played an important role in the inner and outer politics of the country. The king's harem consisted of three parts : *jinna-anteura*, *nava-anteura* and *kaṇṇa-anteura*. The first was inhabited by old women, whose youth had departed ; in the second lived young ladies, who were in their bloom of youth ; in the third lived the girls, who had not attained their prime of youth as yet.[34] The kings were fond of enriching their harem with beautiful women and girls without any distinction of caste. At times they being unmindful of public opinion did not mind capturing even married girls and beautiful nuns. The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to the five hundred girls, who during a festival of Indra went out to worship the deity. A prince also had gone out to enjoy the festival. The prince asked his servants to take away the girls to the harem and keep them there. Later on, when the parents of the girls lodged a complaint with the king, they were asked, "do you not want to make my son your

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[29] 1, p. 28f The consecration ceremony is also described in the *Mahābhārata* (Sānti P. 1XL), *Rāmāyana* (II. 3; 6, 14; 15, IV. 26 20ff), and the *Jātakas* (*Pañcaguru Jātaka*, I No 132. p. 470, *Ayoghara Jātaka*, IV, No 510, p 492) when the subjects, headed by priests, came to see the prince with diverse kinds of auspicious articles ; the whole city was decorated, courtezans played and danced all round ; priests, generals, merchants and citizens, provincials—all thronged at the palace and made a holiday ; the town was decorated on a heavenly style, the prince was placed on a pile of jewels, he was sprinkled from the three conches and an umbrella with its festoons of gold was held over him.

[30] *Nāyā.*, 1. p 22 ; *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 13, p 189. For similar description in the *Jātakas*, see P.B I, p. 107 f.

[31] 9 46f

[32] *Bhag. Ṭī.*, 5 7 ; *Abhidhānarājendrakoṣa*, under '*pāsāya*.'

[33] Cf. *Nāyā.*, 16, p 185

[34] *Nisī. Cū.*, 9. p 508, according to the *Bandhana mokkha Jātaka* (I, 120, p. 437) a harem is said to have comprised of sixteen thousand dancing girls ; also see *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 39-41 ; also *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 10. 12ff ; iv. 33. 19ff.

son-in-law?" and the girls were married to the prince.[35] Similarly, a Brāhmana girl named Somā was kept in the harem of Kaṇha Vāsudeva to be married to his younger brother Gayasukumāla. Later on, however, Gayasukumāla did not marry and joined the monastic order of Aritthanemi.[36] The king even did not hesitate to lay hands upon the married women. The commentary on the *Kalpa sūtra* mentions king Sumukha of Kosambī, who kept Vanamālā the wife of Vīraka in his harem[37] Then we hear of king Vikkamajasa of Kañcanapura, who made the wife of a merchant his queen. The merchant was much grieved, he turned mad and died.[38] Further, the *Nisītha Cūrni* mentions king Gaddabhilla of Ujjenī who captured the nun-sister of Kālaka and kept her in his harem Later on, however, in order to take revenge on him, Kālaka left for Persia from where he brought ninety six kings and waged war against Gaddabhilla.[39]

The harem was a great source of danger to the king and was, therefore, carefully guarded by eunuchs[40] and old men The eunuchs are mentioned in the *Bṛhatkalpa sūtra* and its *Bhāsya.* They were excluded from the membership of the Jain *Sramana Sangha.* About the eunuchs it is said that their nature was womanish, their voice and colour were those of a woman, their penis was long and drooping, their speech was soft, and they passed urine with noise and it was foamy. They walked with a womanish gait looking to the right and the left and behind; they were soft skinned and their bodies were cold to the touch.[41] The *Vivāgasuya* mentions a eunuch who was brought up by his parents to carry on the profession of a eunuch.[42]

The Jain texts mention the following guards to keep watch over the inmates of the harem [43]

1 A *kañchukin* or chamberlain had a free access to the king as well as the inmates of the harem.[44] He gave reports of the happenings in the harem to the king [45]

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[35] 4 5153 [36] *Anta*, 3, p 16f [37] 2, p 40a, also *Das Cū*, 3, p 105

[38] *Uttarā Tī*, 18 p 239, the *Manicora Jātaka* (II, No 194) describes a similar story of a king, who, seeing the beauty of Bodhisattva's wife, got enamoured of her The king sent a man, who placed a jewelled crest in his cart The royal officers declared him to be a thief and took him to the execution ground, also *Dhammapada A*, II, 2f

[39] 10 p 571

[40] According to Vātsyāyana, no man was allowed to enter into the royal harem except relatives and servants and in some provinces artisans, Brāhmanas were allowed to get into the harem for supplying flowers to the ladies, with whom they conversed separated by a screen, Chakladar, *Studies in the Kāmasūtra*, p 170

[41] 4 4, 4 5144 f Fourteen classes of eunuchs are distinguished here They are *Pandaya, Vātiya, Kīva, Kumbhī Isāluya, Sauni, Takkammasevī, Pakkhiyāpakkhiya, Sogandhiya* and *Āsitta* (*ibid*, 5166 f, also *Bhā*, 3 2 13, also cf *Nārada*, XII, 11 ff) On eunuchs see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol III, Appendix "Indian Eunuchs," pp. 319 329

[42] 2, p 19

[43] Kauṭilya also speaks of the employment of old women and eunuchs in the harem, *Arthasāstra*, p 40.

[44] *Nisī Cū*, 9, p 508, according to Vācaspati, a *kañcukin* has a free access in the harem, he is old, Brāhmana by caste, virtuous and clever in every thing (*Abhidhānarājendrakośa*, under '*kañcuki*'). [45] *Rāya. Sū., Tī.*, 210

2 A *varisadhara* was another guard of the harem. It is said that his testicles were removed by surgical operation (*vaddhia*) since childhood.[46]

3 A *mahattara* was an executive officer of the harem. He took the ladies of the harem to the king, told them stories after their menstruation bath, pacified their anger and reported the cause of the anger to the king.[47]

4 A *dandadhara* carried a staff in his hand and kept a watch over the harem[48]

5 A *dandārakkhiya*, with the permission of the king took a man or a woman into the harem.[49]

6 A *dovāriya* sat at the entrance of the harem with a staff in his hand.[50]

It is to be noted, however, that inspite of the strictest precautions, the women of the harem were often corrupt and immoral to a degree, and such affairs had serious repurcussions on the affairs of the state. We come across ministers who had illicit connections with the queens.[51] By bribing the servants the merchants could get entry into the harem. We are told that king Gunacandra of Śrīnilayanagara punished a merchant for such an offence.[52] We are told that when king Seniya of Rāyagiha could not get Sujetthā in marriage, he sent Abhayakumāra to Vesāli, who began to live near the royal harem, in the disguise of a merchant. There he established contact with the maid-servants of the harem and managed to kidnap Cellanā.[53] Then we are told that all inmates of king Pajjoya's harem except Sivā were violated by Mahissara.[54] The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāsya* refers to the girls of the king's harem who used to talk with outsiders from the windows ; one day they escaped with their lovers unnoticed.[55] The prohibition of the monkeys in the harem also shows that the king used to take every precaution to guard the chastity of the inmates of the harem.[56]

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46 *Bṛh Bhā*, 4 5167, *Nisī. cū*, 9. pp 508, 729, *Rāya Sū*, *Tī.*, 210. The other methods of making impotent were rubbing the testicles with thumb, the fore-finger and the middle finger and making them ineffective by medicine (*appiya*), *Bṛh Bhā*, 4 5167

47 *Nisī cū*, 9 p 508, *kañcukīyā* and *mahattarikā* are mentioned by Vātsyāyana, who were employed in the harems of kings They were employed by the queens in sending messages accompanied by various presents to the king, Chakladar, *Studies in the Kāmasūtra*, p. 109

48 *Abhidhānarājendrakosa*, under '*dandadhara*'

49 *Ibid* under '*dandārakkhiya*'

50 *Ovā*, 7 p. 25 According to the *Mātanga Jātaka* (IV, No. 497, p. 382), the duty of a *dovāriya* was to thrash *candālas* or similar vagabonds who wanted to peep at the palace, with sticks or bamboo posts, catch them by the throat and fling them on the ground.

51 See *Vivā*, 5 p 35 In the *Jātakas* a minister guilty of misconduct in the harem, is asked to leave the town He migrates to Kosala and becomes a confidential advisor of the Kosalan king when he instigates border raids and a regular invasion against his old master (*Ghata Jātaka*, No 355, III, p 168, also *Mahāsīlava Jātaka*, No. 51, I, p 262).

52 *Pinda Nir Tī*, 127, p 48 a

53 *Āva cū*, II, p 165 f.

54 *ibid*, II, p 176.

55 1. 991 f.

56 *ibid.*, 5. 5923.

CO-WIVES

There were jealousies and rivalries among the co-wives in the harem and so the harem had its own internal politics. The *Vivāgasuya* refers to king Mahāsena of Supaittha, who had one thousand queens. The prince Sīhasena is said to have married five hundred girls, of whom Sāmā was the chief and the prince's favourite. The prince Sīhasena who had become a king now, was so fond of Sāmā that he neither cared for nor took any notice of the other queens. When the mothers of the neglected queens came to learn of the unhappiness of their daughters they plotted among themselves to put queen Sāmā to death. When the king came to know of this he caused to be built a great mansion and issued invitations to the mothers of the neglected queens. After sometime the king shut all its doors and set fire to it.[57] Then we read about Revai, who was the chief among the thirteen wives of Mahāsayaya of Rāyagiha. She could not enjoy fully the company of her husband owing to her twelve co-wives. So she is said to have disposed of six of them by means of weapons and the rest by means of poison.[58] The commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana* mentions king Jiyasattu of Khiipaiṭṭhiya, who married a painter's girl named Kanayamañjarī. The king had many other queens and he visited them by turns. Once it was the turn of Kanayamañjarī who told him nice stories, and detained him for six months. The king was very much pleased with her and exclusively devoting himself to the pleasure of love with her alone, he passed the time. Upon this her co-wives became enraged against Kaṇayamañjarī and sought for an opportunity to take revenge on her. One day the co-wives made a complaint to the king against Kaṇayamañjarī saying that she was working some evil spell against him. The king made inquiries and he was pleased with the prudence of his beloved. The king made her the mistress of the whole kingdom and invested her with a frontlet (*patta*).[59]

Very often the queens were jealous of the sons of their co-wives. When king Gunacanda, after the death of his father, came to the throne of Sāketa, his step-mother felt suspicious of him and sent him a poison-smeared sweet-meat ball (*moyaga*) to eat. At that time Gunacandra's two step-brothers also were present there. He divided the *moyaga* in two and gave each of them. Soon after eating this the boys were affected by poison and the physicians were called for treatment.[60] Then we hear of the jealous step-mother of Kuṇāla who caused his step-son's eyes to be put out by her stratagem.[61] We also come across instances when a king was poisoned by his own queen. We are told that when

57 p. 51 f.
58 *Utā.*, 8, p. 62.
59 p 141 a f, cf. also *Sujāta Jātaka* (No. 306), III, p. 21.
60 *Āva. cū*, p. 402 f
61 *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1. 3275.

king Paesī of Seyaviyā embraced the Jain faith, he did not attend to state affairs attentively. Thereupon his queen Sūriyakantā is said to have poisoned him and established her son on the throne.[62]

II

KINGS OFFICERS

THE CROWN-PRINCE OR *YUVARĀJA*

Next to the king stood the crown-prince who was the brother or son or kinsman of the king. He was also known as *Īsara* (*Īsvara*) and possessed eight virtues such as *aṇimā*, *mahimā*, etc.[1] After finishing his daily duties, he went to the assembly and attended the affairs of government.[2] A crown-prince was supposed to be efficient in seventy two arts, eighteen provincial languages, music, dancing, and the art of fighting on horseback, elephant and chariot.[3]

PUROHITA

Like the crown-prince, *purohita* or the king's adviser in matters religious and secular as well, finds an important place in the king's assembly. He is enumerated along with the most important officers of administration and is counted among the seven jewels.[4] The *Vivāgasuya* mentions the priest Mahesaradatta of king Jiyasattu, who performed sacrifice in order to avert the king's misfortunes. Sometimes the priest acted as a witch-doctor. It is said that when the king was engaged in some battle, the *purohita*, captured eight hundred boys from the four communities, viz., *Bambhaṇa*, *Khattiya*, *Vaissa* and *Sudda* and performed sacrifice (*santihoma*) with the flesh of their hearts (*hiyauṇḍaya*)[5]

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62 *Rāya Sū.*, 203 f ; Kauṭilya gives some traditional names of queens who had conspired against their husbands and which had cost them their lives. Kauṭilya asks the king to guard himself from his queens. Armed women generally guarded palace and the king entered it if he was personally satisfied of the queen's purity Hence it was necessary to wean her from the undue influence of ascetics, buffoons and public women , *Arthaśāstra*, p. 40.

1 *Anu. Cū.*, p. 11.

2 *Vya. Bhā.*, 1, p. 129.

3 *Ovā. Sū.*, 40, pp. 185 ff , the crown-prince is mentioned as one of the eighteen *tīrthas* in ancient Hindu literature. He was the right hand, right eye and right ear to the king , Dikshitar, *H A.I.*, pp. 106, 109 f. ; also cf. the *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (II, No 276, p 374) where the crown-prince is supposed to wait every evening on the king and receive the greetings of the people.

4 *Thā.*, 7. 558 , cf. *Milindapañha* (p. 114), which mentions *senāpati*, *purohita*, *akkhadassa*, *bhaṇḍāgārika*, *chattagāhaka* and *khaggagāhaka* as six important officers of the king.

5 5. p. 33 , the *Dhoṇasākha Jātaka* (III, No. 353, p. 159), refers to an ambitious *purohita* who helps the king through a sacrificial ceremony to acquire a city which is difficult to conquer. He proposes to his lord to pluck out the eyes of the thousand captured kings, to rip up their bellies, take out the entrails and give a *bali*-offering to a god , see also Fick, *op. cit.*, ch. vii, The House Priest of the King."

THE ROYAL COUNCIL AND THE MINISTER

The *parishad* or Council is an important limb of the central organisation and its origin can be traced to a very early period. The Jain texts describe five kinds of Council of a king : *pūranti*, *chattanti*, *buddhi*, *mantri* and *rahassiyā*. It is said that when the king went on tour, all the officials attended on him till he returned ; this council of officials was called *pūranti*. The members of the *chattanti* council had the privilege of holding the umbrella over the king and were permitted to go up to the outer assembly hall The *buddhi parisat* consisted of members who were well-versed in general customs (*loka*), the Vedas and the scriptures (*samaya*). Various rumours and off-hand remarks current among the people were brought to their notice The fourth council was the council of ministers. They were well-versed in politics (*rāyasattha*), were born in the family with no royal connections (*atakkuliya*), were sincere, old in age and bold ; the king counselled with them in a secret place. The last council was known as *rahassiyā*. The members of this council pacified the angry queen, carried the news of the dates of the purificatory bath after monthly course of various queens ; they also informed the king the names of his daughters who were eligible for marriage. They also informed him of the love-affairs of the queen and also talked with the king in private on various topics pertaining to his sexual life.[6] The *mantri parisat* was an organised council of ministers who were concerned with the political affairs of the realm. It is said that a minister should always think of his country, city and the master and he should be efficient in law and administration.[7] A minister or *amātya* had power to punish even a king, and we come across instances, although rare, when the ministers dismissed a king and appointed another king in his place. We are told that king Jiyasattu of Vasantapura loved his queen Sukumāliyā excessively and as a result of this he neglected the affairs of the state One day the ministers assembled together and after banishing the king and the queen put the prince on the throne [8] In order to protect the realm from internal disturbances and the invasion of the enemy, a minister is said to have employed a number of spies such as *sūcakas*, *anusūcakas*, *pratisūcakas* and *sarvasūcakas*, who supplied him all sorts of secret information The *sūcakas* made friendship with the harem officers and found out internal secrets of the harem ; the *anusūcakas* were employed to detect the foreign spies in the city ; the *pratisūcakas* sat on the city gate apparently doing some menial work ; the *sarvasūcakas* gathered information through their assistants and reported it to the *amātya* These spies were both males and females and they worked in frontier territories, their own country, cities and the royal harem.[9] The ministers were

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[6] *Bṛh Bhā Pī*, 378 383 [7] *Vya Bhā*, 1, pp 129 f

[8] *Āva cū*, p 534, for similar references see *Saccamkira Jātaka* (I, No 73), p 326

[9] *Vya. Bhā*, 1, p 130a f According to the *Mahābhārata* (Śānti p LXviii, 8-12) the employment and direction of spies is one of the prime duties of the king They are to be set in cities, provinces, and the territories of feudatories, also see *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 17-22.

helpful in attaining the objective of defeating the enemy by diplomatic machination. Their feigned dismissal was made and they were allowed to join the services of the opponent. We hear of the minister of Sālivāhana of Paiṭṭhāna, who joined the king Nahavāhana as a minister and after exhausting his whole treasury informed his master, who invaded the enemy and captured his kingdom.[10]

Besides, there were other officers such as chieftains (*ganandyaga*), head police officers (*dandanāyaga*), knights (*talavara*),[11] heads of families *koḍumbiya*), the head of a mercantile guild (*seṭṭhi*),[12] generals (*senāvai*) and frontier guards (*sandhivāla*),[13] who formed an assembly of king's officers.

[10] *Āva cū*, II, pp 200 f; cf. the minister Vassakāra in Buddhist literature by whose tactful machination the unity of the Vajjian confederacy was broken (Com on the *Dīgha*, ii, pp. 522 ff)

[11] They were invested with a *paṭṭa* given by the king, they possessed the same status as th king, the only difference was that they were without chowries.

[12] They are invested with a golden *paṭṭa* inscribed with the image of god

[13] *Rāy Sū.*, *Ṭī.* p 313; 148, p 285; *Nisī. cū.*, 9, p 506, *Bṛh. Bhā. Vṛ*, 3 3757, *Kalpa. Ṭī.*, 4, 62.

CHAPTER II

FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

SOURCES OF REVENUE

Revenue and taxation were the chief support of the State. Revenue in ancient India was derived partly from taxation and partly from sources other than taxation. The *Vyavahāra Bhāsya* mentions one-sixth of the produce as legal tax,[1] but it seems that it varied according to the amount of the produce, the cost of cultivation, the condition of the market and the nature of the soil.[2] The commentary on the *Piṇḍa Niryukti* speaks of a house-tax and mentions that a king should collect two *drammas* every year from each house.[3] The *Nisītha cūrṇi* refers to a merchant who had twenty vessels, and he gave one as a royal tax.[4]

COMMERCE

Commerce was the largest contribution only next to that of land revenue. Taxes on commerce and industry were imposed in consideration of the difficulty or otherwise of purchase and sale of goods by merchants, their standard of life, family expenses and incidental charges on intermediaries and labour. The taxes were imposed by the king and it depended on him whether to levy taxes from a merchant or not. The *Nāyādhammakahā* refers to the sea-faring merchants of Campā who visited the king of Mihilā with the precious gift of a pair of ear-rings. The king was much pleased to receive the gifts and exempted the merchants from the tax[5] Then we hear of the merchant Ayala who returned from Pārasaula with a huge amount of wealth. He visited the ruler of Bennāyada with a plate (*thāla*) full of silver, gold and pearls and was exempted from tax.[6]

OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME

There were various other sources of income to the State. Eighteen kinds of taxes are mentioned in the Jain texts :—taxes from cows (*go*), buffaloes (*mahisa*), camels (*uṭṭi*), cattle (*pasu*), goats (*chagalī*), grass (*taṇa*), *palāla* grass (*puvāl* in Hindi), chaff (*busa*), wood (*kaṭṭha*) coal (*aṅgāra*), plough (*sīyā*), threshold (*umbara*, com. *dehalī*),[7] pasture-ground (*jaṅghā* or *jaṅgā*), bullocks (*balivadda*), earthen pots (*ghaya*) hides and skins (*camma*),

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[1] 1. p 128a.

[2] *Gautama* (X 24) speaks of three different rates, one-tenth, one eighth and one-sixth, to be taken from the land, see also *Manu*, VII, 130 ff.

[3] 87. p. 32a

[4] 20. p 1281.

[5] 8. p. 102.

[6] *Uttarā. Ti.*, 3. p. 64

[7] This tax is also mentioned in the *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 3, 4770.

food (*cullaga*) and any other tax imposed by will (*uppatti*, com. *svecchayā-kalpita*).[8] The tax collectors (*suṅkapāla*) are mentioned.[9] Besides, there were other sources of income to the State. The *Nāyādhammakahā* mentions a jeweller of Rāyagiha who wanted to build a lake in the town. He visited the king with precious gifts and got his permission to do so.[10] Then we hear of a goldsmith Kumāranandi of Campā, who wanted to go to the island of Pañcasela. He visited the king with a precious gift of gold and got his sanction for making an announcement to that effect.[11] Unclaimed property and treasure-trove were other sources of income to the king. We are told of the king Vijayasena of Candrakāntā, who, hearing the death of a certain merchant, deputed his officers and took possession of his property.[12] The *Nisītha cūrṇi* refers to a certain king who punished a certain merchant and confiscated the treasure-trove which he had discovered. The same king is said to have honoured a Brāhmaṇa who discovered a similar treasure-trove.[13] Fines and forfeitures formed another plentiful source of income. The commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to an imposition of a fine of eighty thousand *rūpakas* on one who raised his sword or any other weapon to kill another person. However, if a person attacked did not die of the stroke, the amount of fine varied from country to country. In Ānandapura, for example, for such an offence a person had to pay a sum of rupees five only; for a serious quarrel, however, a sum of rupees twelve and a half was fined.[14]

ASSESSMENT AND COLLECTION

Unfortunately, we have very little information regarding the administration of land-revenue and taxation and the different grades of officials connected with this work. The *Kalpa sūtra* refers to the *rajjuyasabhā*, which belonged to the king Hatthivāla of Pāvā, where Lord Mahāvīra passed the last few days of his life and attained salvation. A *rajjuya* was a survey-minister, who measured a *janapada* field by holding one end of the rope tied to a stick, the other end being held by the owner of the field, and is identical with the *rajjugāhaka amacca* of the *Jātakas* and the *rājuka* o Aśokan Edicts.[15] No other officials are mentioned.

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8 *Āva. Nir.*, 1071 f. (Hari.); also Com. by Malayagiri, p 596. The Brāhmanic literature mentions the taxes from the office of State goldsmith, the institution of prostitutes, building sites, guilds of artisans, handicrafts, religious and charitable endowments, water tax, income tax, flowers, fruits and vegetable gardens, game forests, timber and elephant forests, heads of cattle, asses, camels, horses, hides and skins, etc., Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

9 *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 3. p. 71.

10 13, p. 142.

11 *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 18. p. 251a.

12 *Kalpa Ṭī.*, 1. p. 7, cf; *Vinaya*, iii, 11. 21; *Avadāna Śataka*, I, 3, p. 13; also Mayhaka *Jātaka* (No. 390), III, p. 299 f.

13 20. p. 1281. Cf. *Gautama*, X. 44; *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (II, 2.34 f), *Manu*, VII, 133

14 4. 5104.

15 *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (II, No. 276); Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-152, *P.B.I.*, pp. 142-44.

About the collection of taxes it may be mentioned that the collectors were very oppresive to the poor-folk. We are told of a king who invaded another king for non-payment of taxes (*kappaka*).[16] The *Vivāgasuya* refers to a district-officer (*ratthakūḍa*) named Ikkāi who harassed the people of five hundred villages under his jurisdiction by means of various taxes (*kara*), custom duties (*bhara*), interest, bribe, insult, compulsory contribution (*dejja*), punitive taxes (*bhejja*), extortion of money at the point of the sword, by giving shelter to thieves, by setting fire and waylaying the travellers.[17] The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to the king of Soparaya who demanded tax from the merchants (*negama*). They refused to pay and the king ordered his tax-collectors to burn down their houses.[18]

[16] *Āva cū*, II, p 190

[17] 1. p 6 f.

[18] 1. 2506 f In the *Jatakas* the tax collectors are mentioned as hungry robbers draining the poor earnings of the cultivator. We come across references when the subjects being oppressed by taxation took their wives and families and wandered in the forest like wild beasts; where once stood villages, there now were none, and the people through the fear of the king's officers by day did not venture to dwell in their houses but fencing them about with thorn branches, as son aso the day broke, they disappeared into the forest (Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 120 f.).

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

I

JUDICIARY AND JUSTICE

In the ancient books of the Hindus it is repeatedly emphasised that a judge should deliver his judgment free from any prejudice, dispassionately and impartially.[1] In the *Jātakas* it is said that punishment should be awarded with 'careful measure' to the nature and degree of the offence committed.[2] The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* refers to a judge called *rūpajakkha* (*rūpudakkha* in Pali), who is described as well-versed in *Bhambhīya*, *Āsurukkha*,[3] *Nītiśāstra* of Māthara and *Daṇḍanīti* of Kauṇḍinya, who never accepted any bribe and did not show favour to any one while pronouncing his judgment.[4] However, it should be noted that too much importance cannot be attached to ideals of justice preached in ancient India, and from what we gather from various stories we come to the conclusion that the judicial arrangements were not sound and efficient, but corrupt and oppressive to a degree. The kings were suspicious by nature and most severe punishments were inflicted on those who gave rise to the slightest mistrust in their mind. Very often an innocent person was arrested on a charge of robbery and brought before the court, whereas the offender was set at liberty.[5]

CASES

The term used for a law-suit in our texts is '*vavahāra*' Theft and robbery seem to have been most ordinary cases that came before the court for adjudication, but other cases were also not less in number.[6]

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1 Cf. *Mrcchakaṭika*, Act IX, pp 256 f.

2 Cf. *Rathalaṭṭhi Jātaka* (No. 332), III, p 105 The commentary on the *Dīgha*, II, p 519 gives an account of the administration of justice in Vesālī. When a criminal was brought before the rulers of the Vajjis, at first he was made over to the *Vinicchayamahāmattas*, who set him free if he was innocent, otherwise made him over to the *Vohārikas* Then the *Vohārikas* made him over to the *Suttadharas*, if guilty, then to the *Aṭṭhakulas*, then to the *Senāpati*, then to the *Uparājan* and finally to the *Rājan*. The *Rājan* then investigated the case and set the accused free if he held him innocent, otherwise pronounced the judgment in accordance with the '*Paveṇipotthaka*,' the 'Book of Customs.'

3 *Ambhirya* and *Āsurya* are mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* (p. 156).

4 1, p 132; cf *rūpadakkha* in *Milindapañha*, p 344.

5 Cf. *Uttarā. Sū.*, 9. 30, also see *Jātaka* (IV, p 28 f), where an ascetic suspected of robbery at night is, after being reviled and beaten by the owners of the house, carried into the presence of the king and was impaled Similarly, Cārudatta of *Mrcchakaṭika* was charged with the murder of a woman and theft of her jewels though no confession of crime was elicited from him.

6 The topics which give rise to law-suits are grouped by *Manu* (VIII, 4-7) under eighteen titles, namely: (1) recovery of debts, (2) deposit and pledge, (3) sale without ownership, (4) concerns among partners, (5) resumption of gifts, (6) non-payment of wages, (7) non-performance of agreements, (8) rescission of sale and purchase, (9) disputes between owners of cattle and herdsmen, (10) disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault, (12) defamation, (13) theft, (14) robbery and violence, (15) adultery, (16) duties of man and wife, (17) inheritance and partition, (18) gambling and betting.

We are told of a simple villager, who was going to trade with his bullock-cart loaded with corn and a partridge-cage tied to it. On his way he met some perfumers who enquired whether he wanted to sell his 'partridge-cage tied to the cart' (*sagaḍa-tittiri*) which could also mean 'the cart as well as the partridge.' The simpleton replied in the affirmative The perfumers paid him a *kāhāvana* and taking his bullock-cart as well as the partridge made off The poor villager went to the court, but lost his case. After sometime the villager visited the perfumers with his bullocks in exchange of two *pālis* of *sattu* provided their mother came to him nicely dressed and decked with ornaments with the offer The perfumers agreed to the proposals and their mother approached the villager as desired by him The villager succeeded in his strategem and holding the woman by hand departed In the meantime the people gathered there, and they heard the whole story. The villager got his bullock-cart back and allowed the woman to go.[7]

Then we hear of a murder case Kappaka, who was a Brāhmaṇa by caste, once murdered a washerman and in wrath dyed his clothes with the latter's blood The guild of the washerman (*seni*) went to the court (*rājakula*), but seeing Kappaka there conversing with the king, came home [8]

Sometimes even for ordinary offences complaints were lodged with the king. We are told about a man of Lāta, who took away the umbrella of a Mahārāṣtrian. The latter sued the former in the court, but he lost the case.[9] Then we hear of a quarrel between Karakaṇḍu and a Brāhmana over a staff (*danda*). Karakandu pleaded before the judges (*kāraṇikas*) that since that bamboo staff had grown in his cemetry, it belonged to him, the judges pronounced their judgments in favour of Karaṇḍu [10]

Sometimes even the Jain monks had to appear in the Law-Court We are told that when Vaira was six months old he was taken by the Jain monks for ordination In course of time, the mother of the child filed a suit in the court against the monks The king sat to the east, the Jain *Sangha* to the south and the relatives and friends of Vaira on the left of the king The whole town was on the side of the plaintiff The mother tempted the child by showing various toys but the child would not come to her. The father of Vaira, who had taken to ascetic life, and who belonged to the opposite party, called out his child and asked him to take up the *rajoharana* and the child obeyed The mother lost the case and the child was given to the monks [11] At times the Jain monks visited the king and complained against the prostitutes, who tresspassed on their residence with the intention of distracting and seducing them [12]

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[7] *Das cū*, p 58, *Vasu*, p 57, also cf *Ija cū*, p 119
[8] *Āva cū*, II, p 181 f
[9] *Vya Bhā* 3 345 f, p 69.
[10] *Uttarā Ṭī*, 9, p 134.
[11] *Āva. cū*, p 391 f.
[12] *Bṛh Bhā*, 4. 4923-25, also see *Uttarā.*, 3, p. 72 a.

False testimony (*kūḍasakkha*) and falsification of documents (*kūḍalekha-karaṇa*) were common.[13]

II

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

ROBBERY

Various kinds of offences are mentioned in the Jain texts, amongst which robbery, adultery murder and non-execution of the king's order are the chief. Robbery was considered a regular art (*vijjā*) in ancient India.[14] Various types of thieves are mentioned: thieves (*āmosa*), robbers (*lomahara*), cut-purses (*ganthibheya*) and burglars (*takkara*)[15] The Jain canons describe a number of robbers of fame, who resided well-guarded in the robber-settlements known as *corapalli*. The *Vivāgasuya* gives a graphic description of a *corapalli* known as Sālādavī situated in the north of Purimatāla in a forest. The *corapalli* was located in an unapproachable mountain-ravine; it was further guarded by a wall and bamboo-hedges (*vamsiyāli*) and surrounded by a trench (*pharīha*) formed by inaccessible water-falls (*pavāya*) of the mountain It had one gate but there were many secret passages and it had its own water supply.[16] Sīhaguhā is mentioned as another *corapalli* in Rāyagiha.[17]

The elaborate description of the robbers given in Jain canons[18] shows that they were very powerful and it was difficult even for the king to suppress them There were regular fights between the king's army and the robbers which sometimes resulted in the defeat of the former The robbers carried off the cows,[19] horses, maid-servants, children,[20] even nuns,[21] and set fire to the villages, towns, houses and forests They destroyed the ships, extracted money at the point of the sword, made

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13 *Uttā*, p 10, also notes, p 215, *Āva Sū*, (Hari), p 820

14 Science of larceny is ascribed to various authors headed by Skanda, Kanakasakti, Bhāskarānandi and Yogācārya Thieves were also called Skandaputra Compare Grecian Mercury and St Nicholas of England This God was the patron deity of thieves, Radha Govind Basaka, *I H Q*, V, 1929 pp 312 ff, also see *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Vol II, pp 183 4), note on 'Stealing' Mūladeva is considered as the arch-thief of Hindu fiction, whom Bloomfield identifies with Karnisuta, Goniputraka, Gonikāputra or Gonikasuta He is supposed to have written a famous manual of thieving entitled '*Steyaśāstrapravartaka*' or *Steyasūtrapravartaka* Mūladeva is also mentioned in the com on the *Dīgha* (I, 89), also see Dr A N Upadhye's *Dhūrtākhyāna*, A critical Study, p 23 and note.

15 *Uttarā Sū*, 9 28 For seven types of robbers and eighteen ways of encouraging robbery, see Panha Ṭī 3, p 58, cf the types of *coras* in the Buddhist literature, Law, *India Described*, pp 172 f

16 3, p 20

17 *Nāyā*, 18, p 209

18 *Panha*, 3, pp 43a ff

19 Cf also *Mahābhā*, I, 233, 5 ff

20 See *Uttarā cū*, p 174, cf also *Mrcchakatika* (IV, 6) which refers to children being robbed away from the lap of the nurses

21 Cf *Vya. Bhā.*, 7, p 71a, *Bṛh Bhā.*, 6 6275.

forcible entry into the residence of monks and threatened them with death.[22] The thieves were expert in making breaches in the wall. Various types of the breaches of the wall are mentioned, *viz*, the breach of the shape of a cornice (*kavisīsa*), jar (*kalasa*), fish (*nandīvatta*),[23] lotus and a human being It is stated that once a burglar was caught in the breach he had excavated, by the owner of the house who took hold of his feet protruding from the breach. But the burglar's companions dragged him out from the other side of the wall Caught in this position he was smashed by the cornice coming down [24] The robbers came out at night and at times lived on half-burnt corpses, flesh of wild animals and roots.[25]

The *Vivāgasuya* describes Vijaya of Sālādavi who was the ring-leader of the robbers who aimed at the object on hearing its sound (*saddavehī*) and was the foremost warrior in wielding the sword He gave shelter to adulterers, pick-pockets, thieves and many other undesirable persons. He raided towns and villages, lifted cattle, took captives, waylaid travellers, terrorised people by breaking open their walls, tortured them, destroyed their property and extracted money from them by force [26] Then we hear of Cilāya, a slave-boy (*dāsaceḍa*) of Dhanna of Rāyagiha. Being dismissed by his master from service he approached Vijaya, the leader of five hundred robbers of Sihaguhā and joined his gang. The leader of the robbers appointed him as his body-guard with a sword in his hand (*asilatthiggaha*). Vijaya taught him various spells (*vijjā*) and incantations (*manta*) etc, in connection with the art of larceny In course of time, Vijaya died and Cilāya was appointed in his place. Once Cilāya proposed to commit a dacoity in the house of Dhanna. The robbers got ready equipped themselves well with swords, bows, arrows and various other weapons and marched towards Rāyagiha, amidst the beating of drums, to invest the house of Dhanna The robbers reached the city-gate, their ring-leader recited the spell which could open the locks (*tālugghāḍanīvijjā*),[27] took out water from his water bag (*udagabatthi*) and sprinkled it over the doors The doors were opened and Cilāya, along with his party rushed into the city. He challenged the citizens to stop him and along with huge amount of wealth, carried off Sumsumā, the daughter of Dhanna to the forest [28]

The commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana* mentions another robber Maṇḍiya by name Maṇḍiya tied a bandage round his knee and pretended that he was suffering from a festering boil (*dutthagaṇḍa*). He worked as a tailor (*tunnāa*) during the day time and robbed the people

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[22] *Bṛh Bhā*, 3 3903 f, also cf Cora Sutta in the *Anguttara*, IV, p 339

[23] *Nandiyavatta* is the name of a huge fish (the com. on the *Anguttara* (S.II.B), I, p. 265 after Malalasekara, *op cit*, II, p 29)

[24] *Uttarā. Tī*, 4, p 80a f.

[25] *Panha*, 3, p. 45a

[26] 3, p. 20, also *Nāyā*, 18, p. 208 f.

[27] Thieves also carried *āgneyakīṭa* to extinguish the lamps; Radha Govind Basaka *I.H.Q.*, Vol. V, 1929, p. 313, see *Dasakumāracarita*, p. 77, Kale, Bombay, 1925.

[28] *Nāyā.*, 18, p. 209 ff.

at night. The robber had an underground cell and whatever wealth he brought was kept in this cell. The robber also had a sister. It was the practice of the robber to get the stolen property carried by a man, who was seated near the well built in the middle of the underground cell and his sister under the pretext of washing his feet, hurled him into the well where he died. When Mūladeva was appointed as sovereign of Bennāyada, he tried to catch the robber but could not succeed. Once Mūladeva (clad in the dress of a *Kārpāṭika*) hid himself at a certain place at night. Maṇḍiya passed that way and promised Mūladeva to make him rich. Mūladeva was made to carry the stolen goods. But while washing the feet of Mūladeva, Mandiya's sister made him a sign to flee away and Mūladeva escaped. Later on, Mūladeva married Mandiya's sister and impaled the robber.[29]

Punishments for robbery were of various kinds, amongst which imprisonment, mutilation and death penalty were the chief. We are told that when the robber Vijaya carried off the daughter of the merchant Dhanna, the latter approached the city police (*nagaraguttiya*) with large presents and lodged a complaint. The police officers, clad in mail coats, duly armed with bow, arms and weapons, started in search of the robber. They reached an old garden and discovered the corpse of the girl in a well. Following the foot-marks of the robber the police reached the *mālukā* thicket and put the robber under arrest. They showered blows on him with fists, elbows, knees and sticks, tied his hands behind his neck, suspended the ornaments of the deceased girl on his neck and brought him to the town. They marched him on the roads beating him with thong, cane and whip (*kasa-laya-chiva*), throwing over him ashes, dust and filth proclaiming to the citizens his crime of murdering the child. They then put him into prison where his feet were tied in a wooden frame (*haḍibandhana*), deprived him of food and drink and beat him with lashes thrice a day. The robber died in course of time.[30] Then we hear another robber-chief named Abhaggasena of Purimatāla. The king of Purimatāla raided the robber-settlement with a huge army but before the king's army reached the settlement, Abhaggasena was informed by his spies about the intended attack. He marched against the enemy and routed his army. After some time the king decided to win over the robber by conciliation (*sāma*) and by creating confidence in him. He declared a ten days' festival in the town in which Abhaggasena was invited along with his friends and relatives. He was entertained by the king lavishly and one day when the robber was engrossed in merry-making he was put under arrest and was executed.[31] We are told about a certain priest, who robbed the purse of a merchant containing one thousand (*sahasso naulo*). The merchant demanded the purse but

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[29] 4, p. 94a f, also cf *Bhuyaṅgama cora* (*Uttarā Ṭī*, 4, pp 87 ff), *Rauhiṇeya cora* (*Vya. Bhā.*, 2. 304; also *Yogaśāstra*, com pp 116a ff by Hemacandra, J.A.O S, Vol 44, 1-10, article by H. M. Johnson, also cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, II, 23. 273.

[30] *Nāyā.*, 2, pp. 53 f.

[31] *Vivā.*, 3, pp. 24 f.

the priest would not return it. At last the merchant sued in the court and the priest lost the case. The king ordered the priest either to be given one hundred lashes or to swallow human excreta (*gū*). The culprit preferred the former But after receiving a few lashes he was tired and he preferred to take excreta. After taking it a little he refused to take any more and he asked for the lashes again Thus the culprit had to undergo both punishments and his whole property was confiscated [32]

Even women were punished for their offences although the severity of punishment to women-folk was not the same as those to men Pregnant women, for example, were exempted from torturous punishments We read of a certain girl who was banished by her parents. She got a job in the house of a wine-merchant The girl was pregnant and in order to fulfil her pregnancy-longing she used to steal money from her master's shop One day she was caught and the merchant reported to the king, who handed over the girl to be executed after delivery. After delivery however, the girl escaped and her son was brought up by the king.[33]

ADULTERY

Like robbery, adultery also was punished severely with death, imprisonment, mulitation and banishment. We are told that a person who committed adultery was censured and beaten, his head was shaved and his penis mutilated.[34] Ujjhiya was a merchant's son of Vāniyagāma who used to visit a courtesan named Kāmajjhayā. It so happened that the king also loved the same courtesan. One day, finding Ujjhiya in her house, the king turned him out and kept the courtesan as his mistress After some time Ujjhiya succeeded in visiting Kāmajjhayā secretly He was caught and was belaboured by the royal officers His hands were tightly bound behind his back, his nose and ears were mutilated, his body was besmeared with oil, he wore a pair of rough rags, round his neck was thrown a garland of red flowers, red dust was sprinkled over his body, he was made to eat the small pieces of his flesh, his offence being proclaimed at every square with the beat of a broken drum and thus he was led away to the place of execution.[35] A similar story is told about Sagada, who secretly visited the courtesan Sudamsanā, a keep of the king's minister. Sagada was charged with adultery and was brought before the king, who ordered him to be executed along with the courtesan Sagada was made to embrace a red-hot iron image of a woman till he died [36] Then Bahassaidatta, a minister of king Udayana, was impaled for a similar offence along

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32 *Āvā cū*, 2, p 65
33 *Gacchā Vr*, 36
34 *Nisī cū*, 15, p 1002, cf *Manu*, VIII, 374
35 *Vivā*, 2, p 18 f For a similar description see *Kanavīra Jātaka*, III, No 318, *Sulasā Jātaka*, III, (No 419), also cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (III, 5, 232 f), *Manu*, VIII, 372 f.
36 *Vivā.*, 4, p. 31.

with the queen.[37] Similarly, a merchant of Śrīnilayanagara is said to have been ordered to be executed for an offence of living in adultery with the queens of the harem. In this case it is said that not only the offender but even his friends and admirers were put to death [38]

Then the commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana* refers to two brothers, named Kamaṭha and Marubhūi of Poyanapura The former lived in adultery with the latter's wife and was brought to the notice of the latter by the former's wife. Marubhūi left his house and returned after sometime in the disguise of a *Kārpāṭika*. He found his wife and his brother together and reported the matter to the king, who ordered Kamatha to be arrested, and accompanied with the music of harsh sounding drums with a garland of earthenware vessels (*sarāva*) around his neck, mounted on an ass,[39] he was led throughout the city and in the end was banished from the town[40].

It seems that the Brāhmanas were awarded a lighter punishment for the same offence. We are told that a certain Brāhmana committed adultery with his daughter-in-law and as a punishment he was asked to touch the four Vedas and that was considered enough to expiate his sin.[41]

MURDER

Murder was another crime which was punished with the death penalty, public execution and fines. We hear of the prince, Maṇḍivaddhana of Mahurā who wanted to kill his father and rule over the kingdom. He employed a barber and asked him to cut his father's throat with the razor. The barber was frightened at the conspiracy and reported the matter to the king. The king ordered the prince to be executed publicly. He was led away by the police-officers to a square road where he was made to sit on a red-hot iron throne and was sprinkled over with hot water, etc. The officers put a red-hot necklace around his neck, fastened a badge (*patta*) to his forehead, and placed a crown on his head and thus he was executed.[42] Even women were not spared and were severely punished. Devadattā, the queen of Pūsanandi, was jealous of her mother-in-law, whom she killed with a red-hot iron staff (*lohadanda*). When Pūsanandi came to know of this, he ordered Devadattā to be put under arrest by the police-officers, her hands were tied to her back, her nose and ears were mutilated and she was impaled publicly.[43]

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37 *Ibid*, 5, p 35.

38 *Piṇḍa Nir*, 127.

39 Even women were awarded this kind of punishment (*Manu*. VIII, 370).

40 23, p. 285 f Cf *Gahapati Jātaka*(II, No 199), p 131 f

41 *Vya Bhā. Pī*, 17, p 10, cf *Gautama*, XII, 1, a *śūdra* who intentionally reviles twice-born men by criminal abuse or criminally assaults them with blows, shall be deprived of the limb with which he offends, also VIII. 12 f.

42 *Vivā*., 6, pp. 36-39.

43 *Ibid*, pp. 49, 55.

NON-EXECUTION OF THE KING'S ORDER

Non-execution of the king's order was another offence which was dealt with very severely. Generally the king was an absolute monarch in those days, and as a rule it was absolutely necessary to carry out his orders. It is said that the persons who disobeyed the king's commands were thrown into salt (*kharantaka*) where within a very short time—its duration being calculated by the time that was taken in milking a cow—their bodies were reduced to skeletons.[44] Four kinds of assemblies (*parisā*) are referred to in the Jain texts, *viz.*, *Khattiya*, *Gāhāvai*, *Māhana* and *Isi*.[45] It is said that an offender from the *Khattiya* assembly was punished with cutting off his hands or feet, he was beheaded, impaled, killed by one stroke of the sword and was thrown away. The offender from the *Gāhāvai* assembly was burnt to death on a pile of bark, husk or chaff, the offender from the *Māhana* assembly was taunted in disagreeable terms and was branded with a mark of a pot (*kundiya*) or a dog (*sunaga*) or was banished;[46] and the offender from the *Isi* assembly was admonished mildly.[47]

People giving rise to the slightest degree of suspicion in the minds of the kings, were punished heavily and often were deprived of their life. We hear of Kappaya, the minister of Nanda, who was once preparing for the wedding feast of his son. The ex-minister of Nanda, who was a rival of Kappaya, informed the king that Kappaya was making preparations to establish his son on the royal seat. The king, without making much inquiry, is said to have ordered Kappaya and his whole family to be cast into a well.[48] The same plot was devised by Vararuci against his rival Sagadāla, the minister of the ninth Nanda. When Sagadāla came to know that he was suspected by the king and being anxious to prevent the ruin of his whole family, he persuaded his son to put him (Sagadāla) to death.[49] Cānakya too is said to have met the same fate at the hands of his master. It is said that once Subandhu, who was jealous of Cānakya, approached the king and reported that the latter had killed his (king's) mother.[50] The king inquired of the maid-servant, who confirmed the report. Next day when Cānakya visited his master, he did not receive him properly. Cānakya felt that now his life was drawing to its close. So being indifferent to worldly interests,

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44 *Āva cū*, p 38

45 Cf the eight assemblies in the *Anguttara*, IV, p 307 f

46 Cf *Arthaśāstra*, p 230, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, II, 23, 270

47 *Rāya*, 184

48 *Āva cū*, II p 182

49 *Ibid*, p 184

50 It is said once Durdharā, the queen of Candragupta, who was pregnant was dining with the king. On Canakya's order the food of the king was mixed with very minute dozes of poison so that the king may gain immunity from poison. Now observing that the poison almost instantly killed the queen, Cānakya ripped open her womb and extracted the child; *Sthavirāvali carita* (8 377 414), cf also Buddhist tradition about Bindusāra, Malalasekara, *op cit*, Vol II, under 'Bindusāra'

he retired to the jungle to starve himself to death, and was consumed in the flames.[51]

Then we are told about Sālivāhana of Paiṭṭhāna who once ordered his commander-in-chief to go and conquer Mahurā. The commander-in-chief could not understand as to which Mahurā was to be conquered, southern or northern He marched with his army and succeeded in conquering both. When the king learned of his victory, he felt extremely happy. At the same time he also got news of the birth of a son and the find of a treasure-trove The king's pleasure knew no bounds and in an excitement he started striking at his beds, pillars, buildings, etc Now, in order to bring the king back to his senses his minister started destroying the pillars, the furniture and the buildings of the palace himself and declared that it was the act of the king When the king heard of this he was seized with wrath and he ordered the minister to be executed However, the minister was concealed by the officers and was saved [52] we read almost a similar story about king Sankha of Vārānasi, who, at some slight fault of his minister ordered his execution secretly.[53] About Candragupta it is said that when he occupied the throne of Pādaliputta, the Ksatriyas taking him to be a son of peacock-tamers, did not obey his commands Candragupta was enraged at this and he ordered the whole village to be burnt to ashes.[54]

It seems that even for ordinary offences the kings did not hesitate to inflict severe punishments The commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana* tells us that once during the time of the Indra festival, the king made a proclamation that the citizens should leave the town and go out to celebrate the festival. A priest's son, unmindful of the king's order, remained in the house of a harlot; the king ordered him to be executed. The priest offered his whole property to save his son, but he could not save him from the gallows.[55] On another occasion, king Ratnaśekhara announced the celebration of moon-lit night (*kaumudīpracāra*) and asked the citizens to leave the town in the company of their wives. The six sons of a layman did not care for the royal command and stayed at home. Later on, at the request of the layman, only one son was saved and the rest were executed.[56]

There are instances when the autocrat kings acted wantonly. It is said that king Kumbhaga of Mihilā banished the guild of the goldsmiths simply because they could not repair his ear-rings.[57] A physician was put to death by a king simply because he could not cure the prince [58] We are told that the prince Malladinna ordered a painter to be executed for no fault of his.[59]

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51 *Das. cū.*, p 81 f. In the *Mahābodhi Jātaka* (v. 229 ff) we come across a king who stripped his five ministers of all their property, and disgracing them in various ways, by fastening their hair into five locks, by putting them into fetters and chains, and by sprinkling cow-dung over them, he drove them out of his kingdom. 52 *Bṛh Bhā*, 6 6244 6249
53 *Uttarā Ṭī*, 13, p 185a 54 *Bṛh Bhā*, 1. 2489. 55 4, p 82 a.
56 *Sūya Ṭī.*, II, 7, p. 413. 57 *Nāyā*, 8, p. 105. 58 *Bṛh Bhā*, 3. 3259 f.
59 *Nāyā.*, 7, p. 107.

The offenders were also sentenced to great humiliation as their relatives were ordered to live in the *Cāṇḍāla* settlement.[60]

Besides, the following types of punishments are mentioned specifically :—putting in irons (*aduyabandhana*),[61] in fetters, in stocks (*haḍibandhana*), into prison, screwing up hands and feet in a pair of shackles and breaking them, cutting off hands and feet, or ears or nose or lips or head or throat-glands (*muravā*), piercing the organ (*veyagachahiya ?*)[62], body (*angachahiya*), the sides, tearing out eyes, teeth, testicles, or tongue, hanging, brushing, whirling round, impaling, lacerating, pouring acids (in wounds), belabouring with a leather strap, twisting the organ like a lion's tail (*sīhapucchiya*),[63] like a bull's tail, burning in a wood fire and exposing the offender to be devoured by crows and vultures.[64]

PRISONS

There were regular prisons in those days,[65] although we do not know what kinds of offenders were imprisoned and for what period. But it seems that the general conditions of the prison were not good. The prisoners were severely tortured in the prison and frequently they died. The *Vivāgasuya* gives a vivid description of a well-equipped prison in Sīhapura. Dujjohana was the jailor who provided jails with various kinds of instruments of torture. There were a number of iron-jars filled with copper, tin, lead, lime-water (*kalakala*) and oil cooked with alkaline ingredients (*khāratella*) always kept on fire. There were jars containing urine of various animals ; handcuffs (*hatthanduya*), fetters (*pāyanḍuya*), wooden frames to fasten the feet (*haḍi*), and iron chains ; various kinds of whips, stones, sticks, clubs, ropes, traps, swords, saws, razors, iron-nails, leather-straps, needles, hatchets, nail-cutters,and *darbha* grass The criminals were made to lie on their backs, their mouths were opened by means of an iron-staff, a red-hot copper etc. and the urine was poured into their mouth ; they were tortured by various instruments.[66] The plight of the prisoners was miserable. They suffered from hunger, thirst, heat, cold, cough and leprosy. Their nails, hair,

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60 *Uttarā Ṭī.*, p 190a

61 This is also mentioned in the com on the *Udāna*. p. 149.

62 This meaning is given in the *Pāiyasaddamahannavo*, p 1020 , Abhayadeva, however, gives a variant, '*vāikacchachinnaga*' and renders as '*uttarāsaṅgavyāyena vidāritaḥ*' (*Ovā. Sū* , 38, p. 164)

63 Also refer to the commentary for explanation.

64 *Sūya* II, 2 35 , *Ovā Sū* , 38, p 162 f . *Panha*, 3, 52a ff , also cf. *Milindapañha*, p. 197 , *Majjhima*, I, 87

65 According to Jain tradition during the first era the punishment was of a mild character. The first two *Kulakaras* established the '*hakkāra*' (expression of regret), then came '*makkāra*' (prohibition), then was established the punishment of '*dhikkāra*' (reproach)—*dhigdanda* and *vāgdaṇḍa* are also mentioned in the *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, I, 13, 367 Then it is said that Ṛṣabhadeva, the first *Tīrthaṅkara* introduced the punishment of confinement to a particular area (*maṇḍalabandha*) After that Bharata is said to have introduced *caraka* or imprisonment and *chaviccheya* or mutilation of hand, foot and nose etc (*Jambu. Sū.*, 2, 29 ; *Ṭhā.*, 7. 557).

66 6, pp. 36 ff.

beard and moustaches were allowed to grow unattended; they lay in their own excrement and urine and died in prisons only. They were dragged by the feet and were thrown away in ditches where they were devoured by wolves, dogs, jackals, big rats (*kola*), cats, and birds.[67]

Another reference to prison is made in the *Nāyādhammakahā*. It is mentioned that once for some slight fault, the merchant Dhanna of Rāyagiha, referred to above, was arrested and was put into prison where the robber Vijaya was undergoing imprisonment. Both were put together and their feet were bound in the same wooden frame The wife of the merchant used to send her husband a sealed tiffin box (*bhoyana-piḍaga*) every day through her servant. Vijaya requested Dhanna to share his food with him but the latter always refused saying that as he had murdered his daughter he preferred giving it to crows and dogs or he would throw away on dung-hills but he would never share it with a murderer of his own child. Once Dhanna wanted to go to attend the call of nature. He asked Vijaya to accompany him to a place where he could be at ease. But Vijaya refused saying that he had taken plenty of food and drink and hence it was natural for him to go for excretion whereas he had nothing to eat. The merchant again requested the robber and ultimately agreed to share his food with him. In course of time, through the influence of his relatives and friends, and after paying money to the king, Dhanna was released from prison. He immediately left for a hair cutting saloon (*alaṅkāriyasabhā*), he bathed in a lake and having offered oblations (*balikamma*) to the deities, he came home. The robber Vijaya, however, died in the prison and never came out.[68] We are told about the imprisonment of king Seṇiya who was given hundred lashes every morning and evening; neither food and drink was allowed, nor anybody was permitted to interview the king. Later on, his queen Cellanā was allowed to see him, she concealed food in her hair and offered it to her husband.[69]

On certain special occasions, such as the birth of a child, coronation ceremony or festivals general release of prisoners was declared by the king.[70]

67 *Panha*, 3, p. 54.

68 *Nāyā.*, 2, p 54 ff. Compare the *Jātaka* where the life of the prisoner is described very hard The sad and miserable plight of a released prisoner is taken as a standard of comparison for a person who had not bathed for days together, nor rinsed his mouth nor performed any bodily ablution (*P B I*, p 159)

69 *Āva cū*, II, p. 171.

70 Cf. *Nāyā*, 1, p 20, cf. also *Arthaśāstra*, p. 165

CHAPTER IV

MILITARY ORGANISATION

I

THE FOUR-FOLD ARMY

As wars and frontier troubles were very common in those days, the state had necessarily to keep and maintain a well-equipped and organised military force always at its command. The four-fold army constituting chariots (*raha*), elephants (*gaya*), cavalry (*haya*) and infantry (*pāyatta*)[1] played an important part in warfare in ancient India.

CHARIOTS

A chariot was a very important means of conveyance in olden days. Unfortunately, no details as to its construction are given in Jain literature. We are told that a chariot was equipped with umbrella, standards, bells, flags, ornamental arches (*toraṇa*), a musical instrument (*nandighosa*) and with a net of small bells; it was made of *tinisa* wood growing in the Himālaya, decorated with many patterns and inlaid with gold. Its spokes and axles (*dhurā*) were firm and its felly (*nemi*) was of iron. Excellent horses were yoked to it and it was provided with an accomplished charioteer. It was furnished with quivers each containing hundred arrows, armours, helmets, bows, and other weapons.[2]

Two varieties of chariots are mentioned, namely, *yānaratha* and *saṅgrāmaratha*. The former was an ordinary chariot whereas the latter had a wooden seat looking like a sedan-chair (*phalaka*).[3] The king's chariot's bore special names. For instance, the chariot of Pajjoya was called *Aggibhīru* (fire-proof) and was considered one of the four jewels.[4]

ELEPHANTS

The elephant had an honourable place in the army and on other royal occasions. The elephant was considered so important in the Mauryan period that the killing of an elephant was visited even with capital punishment.[5] The *Uttarādhyayana* refers to an elephant of sixty

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[1] *Uttarā Sū.* 18 2

[2] *Ovā sū*, 31, p 132, *Āva cū*, p 188, also see *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, 22 13 ff, *Mahābhārata*, V, 94. 18 ff.

[3] *Anu. Ti*, p 146 In the Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* (p 156) there are mentioned no less than seven different sizes of chariots There are also mentioned six varieties of chariots for different purpose. The *devaratha* was the chariot for the idols, the *puṣparatha* was the festal chariot, the *sangrāmika* the war chariot, the *pariyāṇika* that was used ordinarily for travelling. There was another class of war-chariots called the *staraparābhiyānika*. Then there was the *vaināyika* or chariot used in the period of training.

[4] *Āva cū*, II, p. 160.

[5] *Arthaśāstra*, p. 49.

years (*satthihāyana*),[6] which shows that it was a long-lived animal. The *Thāṇāṅga* mentions four varieties of elephants, *viz.*, *bhadda*, *manda*, *miya* and *sankinna*. They are classified according to their seasonal uses, physical strength, sharp or slow intelligence and their ability to lead attacks, etc.[7] The kings were very fond of elephants ; and the state-elephants bore special names. We hear of the elephant Secanaka over which a great battle was fought between Kūnika and Halla and Vihalla. It is said that this elephant was born in a hermitage and used to water the groves with its trunk in the company of the ascetic princes and hence its appellation *Secanaka* (Sprinkler). When this elephant grew up, it killed the leader of the herd and destroyed the hermitage The ascetics were angry with the elephant and handed it over to king Seniya of Rāyagiha.[8] Later on, it is said that once Secanaka went to a river where he was caught by a crocodile. A merchant's son rescued it whereupon Seṇiya was so much pleased with him that he gave him his daughter in marriage.[9] Another battle is recorded which took place between Nami and Candajasa over an elephant.[10] The *Bhagavatī* refers to two other elephants of Kūnika, *viz.*, Udāyin and Bhutānanda.[11] Nalagiri was another elephant which belonged to Pajjoya and was considered one of his four precious possessions.[12] Bhadravatī belonged to Udayana, who successfully carried off Vāsavadattā on its back from Ujjenī to Kosambī.[13] Vijaya Gandhahatthi[14] was an elephant of Kanha Vāsudeva.[15]

The elephants were equipped with armours, cruppers, bells, neck-ornament (*gevejja*), head-piece (*uttarakañcuijja*), flags, standards, garlands, weapons and other ornaments.[16]

There were special trainers (*hatthidamaga*) of elephants.[17] king Udayana was an adept in the art of winning over elephants by his music.[18] The mahauts (*hatthivāua* : *miṇtha*) were armed with hooks[19] (*ankusa*) ; housing (*uccūla* mod. *jhūl*) is mentioned.[20] The elephants were tied to a post (*ālāṇa*) and their feet were secured with a rope.[21] The elephant stables (*jaḍḍasālā*) are referred to.[22] The wooden seat on the back of the elephant was known as *gilli*[23] the equivalent of modern *ambārī*.

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6 11 18, also cf *Majjhima*, I, p 229, *Rāmāyana*, II, 67 20, *Mahābhārata*, II, 83. 24

7 For their characteristics, see 4 281, also see *Nāyā*, 1, p 39, also cf Hastilaksanam (66) a chapter in the *Bṛhat Samhitā*, *Arthaśāstra*, pp 151 f. The *Sammoha Vinodanī* (p 397) mentions ten species of elephants *kālāvaka*, *gangeyya*, *paṇḍara*, *tamba*, *pingala*, *gandha*, *maṅgala*, *hema*, *uposatha* and *chaddanta* See also *Rāmāyana*, I, 6. 25.

8 *Āva cū*, II, p 170 f

9 *Ibid*, 468.

10 *Uttarā*, *Ti* 9 p 140 f.

11 7. 9

12 *Āva. cū*, II, p. 160

13 *Ibid*, pp 161 f.

14 A *gandhahastin* or 'the scent elephant' was the best type of elephant. It was the leader of its herd and it survived even if fallen in a cave. An *ācarya* is compared with a *gandhahastin* (*Brh. Bhā*, 1. 2010)

15 *Nāyā.*, 5, p. 70.

16 *Vivā.*, 2, p 13, *Ovā*, 30, p. 117, 31, p. 132. Also see *Rāmāyana*, I, 53. 18.

17 *Nisī. cū*, 8, p. 522.

18 *Āva. cū*, II, p. 161.

19 *Das sū*, 2. 10, *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 4, p. 85.

20 *Ovā.*, 30, p. 117.

21 *Uttarā. Tī.*, 4, p. 85.

22 *Vya. Bhā.*, 10. 484.

23 *Rāya. sū.*, 3.

CAVALRY

The third constituent of the four-fold army was the cavalry. The great value of the horses at the time of Kautilya lay in their quick movement and they were regarded as specially useful for guarding advanced positions, for protecting the treasury and commissariat, for cutting off the enemy's supply, for delivering attacks against the enemy's forces and for pursuing a retreating foe.[24]

Three varieties of horses are mentioned, *viz.*, *aśva*, *aśvatara*, *ghotaka*.[25] An *aśva* was a well-bred horse from Pakkhali (vālhīka according to Haribhadra) ; it was a clean animal[26] ; an *aśvatara* or a mule was born of a different species other than its own ; such mules came from Dīlavāliya ; the ill-bred horses were known as *ākīrṇa*.[27] *Kanthaka* was another variety of horses found in Kamboja whom no noise frightened and who exceeded all other horses in speed.[28] The *Ṭhāṇāṅga* mentions four varieties of *kanthaka*.[29] The mares which foaled horses every year,[30] were known as *ṭhāiṇī* (*thāṇī* in Marāthi.)

The horses were equipped with armour and horse-carpet ; the crests imparted them a grim look and their waist was decorated with small mirrors (*thāsaga*). The saddle of the horse was known as *thilli*. The horsemen were armed with weapons.[31]

Horses were trained. Haribhadra refers to the training of Bahalī horses.[32] *Vāhiyāli* was the place for training horses.[33] The horse-trainers (*assamaddaya*) are mentioned; they trained the horses by using different kinds of muzzles for mouth, ears, nose, hair, hoofs and thighs, by bit of a bridle (*khaliṇa*), tying with a rope to the post (*ahilāṇa*), by saddling (*paḍiyāṇa*), brandishing (*aṅkana*), caning (*vittappahāra*), beating with sticks (*layappahāra*), whips (*kasa*), lashes (*chiva*),[34] goad and thongs (*tottajutta*).[35]

Riding (*assavāhaniyā*) was a luxury.[36] Jumping (*laṅghaṇa*), circular movement (*vaggana*), gallop (*dhorana*) and other forms of riding are mentioned.[37] Horses were kept in the stables (*assasālā*).[38] Meadow-grass (*javasa*) and husk (*tusa*) were given as fodder to horses.[39]

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24 *Arthasāstra*, p 398 f.
25 *Das cū*, 6, p 213
26 *Jambu*, 2, p. 110, f , also *Rāmāyana*, I, 6 22.
27 *Uttarā sū*, 11 16, *Thā*, 4. 327, for eight defects of a horse see Khaluṅka Sutta, *Anguttara*, IV, p 190 f.
28 *Uttarā sū*, 11. 16 and the com.
29 Com 4 327. *Kanthaka* is also mentioned in the *Dhammapada A.*, I, p. 85.
30 *Brh Bha*, 3 3059 f
31 *Vivā*, 2, p 13, *Ovā* 31, p 132
32 *Āva Tī*, p 261, also *Rāya Sū*, 161.
33 *Uttarā Tī*, 9, p 141.
34 *Nāyā.*, 17, p 205, also cf *Majjhima*, I, p. 446.
35 *Uttarā*, 19 56
36 *Ibid*, *Ṭī*, 5, p. 103.
37 *Ovā sū*, 31, p. 132 ; cf. *Arthaśāstra* (p 148) where these terms are explained
38 *Vya Bhā.*, 10, 484.
39 *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 4, p. 96.

INFANTRY

The foot-soldier (*pāyatta*) constituted the main portion of the army. Kauṭilya classifies them as regulars (*maula*), hired soldiers (*bhṛta*), those supplied by fighting corporations (*śreṇī*), those recruited from the enemies' country, those recruited from the country of an ally, and lastly, those recruited from amongst wild tribes.[40]

The foot-soldiers carried various weapons noticeable among them being swords, javelins, spears and bows.[41] They were clad in mail-coats in order to protect themselves from the attacks of the sharp arrows and other missiles (*sannaddhabaddhavammiyakavaya*).[42]

The whole army administration was under the control of the commander-in-chief (*balavāuya*) also known as *senāvai*.[43] It was his duty to attend to the training and efficient organisation of the army and the enforcement of proper discipline among the soldiers.

II

ETHICS OF WAR

The ancients realised the terrible loss in men and money to both parties in war, and hence they tried to avoid war in general. They first tried the four diplomatic means, *viz*, *sāma*, *dāma*, *daṇḍa* and *bheda*, failing which they had to declare war. Before the two parties actually entered into the war, a *dūta* or a courier, who conveyed the royal proclamation to the opposite party, was deputed with the message. We learn that before entering into war with Ceḍaga, Kūṇiya sent his *dūta* to his opponent thrice, finally giving him orders to place his left foot on the foot-stool of the enemy (in a spirit of defiance) and deliver him the letter keeping it on the edge of the spear.[44] Then the king Paḍibuddhi and his five fellow-kings deputed their envoys to king Kumbhaga asking him either to give his daughter in marriage or prepare for war.[45]

WARFARE

The art of warfare together with its various tactics, stratagems and practices, was well known in those days. The *Uttarādhyayana cūrṇi* mentions vehicles, chariots, horses, elephants, foot-soldiers, shields (*āvaraṇa*), weapons, tact (*kusalatta*), diplomacy, competency, perseverance, good physique and health as necessary for carrying on a war.[46] Camps (*khandhāvāranivesa*) were an important conjunct of warfare.[47]

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[40] *Arthaśāstra*, p 156 [41] *Ovā*, 31, p 132. [42] *Vivā*, 2, p. 13.
[43] *Ovā sū.*, 29 [44] *Niryā*. 1.
[45] *Nāyā*, 8, p 97 ff A *dūta* ought not to be slain (*Arthaśāstra*, p. 30); for qualifications of a *dūta*, see *Manu* (VII, 64 f).
[46] 3, p 93 The *Arthasāstra* (p 309) refers to three kinds of warfare, *viz.*, open, treacherous and silent (*i e.*, killing an enemy by employing spies when there is no talk of battle at all); also see p. 156.
[47] cf. *Nāyā*, 8, p. 111; 16, p. 190. Also see *Mahābhārata*, V, 152.

A distinction is made between *juddha* and *saṅgāma*. In the former there was no order in fighting, while in the latter battle formations were used (*vūha*).[48] The *sagaḍavūha* (waggon array) and *garuḍavūha* (eagle array) are mentioned in the *Niryavaliyāo*. The army of Cedaga formed the former while that of Kūṇiya the latter.[49] The *cakka*, *daṇḍa* and *sūci vūhas* are also mentioned.[50] Two types of battles are mentioned: (1) battles in which war-engines were employed (*mahāśilākaṇṭaka*),[51] (2) battles in which chariots and pestles were used (*rahamusala*). It is said that in these battles a huge number of people were killed.[52]

Siege-warfare was the usual practice. The aggressive king would besiege the neighbour's state and challenge him either to surrender or to prepare for the battle. Sometimes the seige continued for a considerable time. Kūṇika is said to have besieged the city of Vesāli for a long period.[53] King Sālivāhana used to lay siege to Bhāruyakaccha every year.[54] It is stated that when Jiyasattu and other kings besieged Mihilā, king Kumbhaga closed the city gates and the citizens could not move out.[55] It is for this reason that the cities of those days were strongly fortified. The fortifications consisted of walls (*pāgāra*), battlements (*gopura*), towers (*aṭṭālaga*), moats and trenches (*ussūlaga*, com. *khādikā*) and *sayagghī* for defending a town.[56]

Strategy and diplomacy played an important part in this type of warfare. Men of shrewd commonsense and profound wisdom brought into play their endless manoeuvres and novel tactics to cause the other party to surrender. We are told as to how Abhayakumāra, by a clever subterfuge which consisted of burying the counterfeit coins in the enemy's camp, created suspicion in the mind of Pajjoya about the fidelity of his soldiers and thus foiled his attack on Rāyagiha.[57] A regular system of espionage was another feature of siege-warfare. Spies were regularly employed to watch the activities of the enemy. They joined the enemy's people and found out their secrets. We have seen how Kūṇika employed hermit Kūlavālaya to cause the citizens of Vesāli to destroy the mound and secured victory over Ceḍaga.[58]

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48 *Jambu*, *Ṭī* 2, 24.

49 I, p 28. Kautilya mentions details of various battle arrays which also include *garuda* and *sakaṭa vyūhas*. It is called an eagle-like array when, having formed the wings, the front is made to bulge out, when it consists of two lines in front and has its wings arranged as in the staff-like array, it is called a cart like array (*Arthaśāstra*, pp 403 f; also see *Manu*, VII, 187 f, *Mahābhā*, VI, 56, 75, also Date, *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 72 ff).

50 *Ovā.*, 40, p 186, *Panha.*, 3, p 44.

51 According to Monier William's *Sanskrit Dictionary*, *Mahāśilā* is a kind of weapon (*a śataghnī* with iron nails).

52 According to Abhayadeva, however, *Mahāsilākaṇṭaka* is so called because in this battle even a thorn (*kaṇṭaka*) acted like a big stone (*mahāśilā*), *Rahamusala* was so called because a single chariot equipped with a mace (*musala*) moved about which effected a great execution of men (*Bhag*, 7. 9). Also see *Harivamsa*, II, 42. 21, II. 39. 75.

53 *Āva cū*. II, p 173.

54 *Ibid*, p 200 f.

55 *Nāyā.*, 8, p. 112.

56 *Uttarā.*, 9, 18, *Ovā.*, 1, p. 5.

57 *Āva cū*, II, p. 159.

58 *Ibid.*, p 174.

CAUSES OF WAR

The causes of war in ancient India could be classified under the following heads :—(1) It was the age of chivalry, and what worthier cause could there be than rescuing a damsel in distress or a maiden whom the knight-errant loved but who was to be married to others. Any insult to the women, however, had also to be avenged and this led to wars. The *Paṇhavāgaraṇa* mentions Sītā,[59] Dovaī,[60] Ruppiṇī,[61] Paumāvaī, Tārā,[62] Kāñcanā,[63] Rattasubhaddā,[64] Ahinnikā, Suvannaguliyā,[65] Kinnarī, Surūpā, Vijjumaī and Rohinī,[66] who were the causes of wars. Similar wars took place for Malli[67] and Miyāvatī.[68] (2) The second cause of war was the aggressive spirit of certain rulers. The cause if analysed was not so trivial as the wish to possess certain jewels, etc., which found expression in forcing the weaker side to accept the will of the stronger side. There was a fight between Pajjoya and Dummuha over a diadem,[69] between Nami and Candajasa over an elephant,[70] between Kūniya and Ceḍaga over an elephant and the necklace.[71] (3) The boundary dispute or the rise of a neighbouring state sometimes brought about war. (4) The war of Cakravartins, however, was fought not for aggrandisement but for the strength of the central government.

WEAPONS

Various kinds of weapons were used in ancient times for offensive and defensive purposes. The *Paṇhavāgaraṇa* mentions the following weapons : *muggara* (Indian club), *musaṇḍhi* (octagonal club),[72] *karakaya* (saw), *satti* (spear), *hala* (plough), *gadā* (mace or heavy club), *musala* (pestle), *cakka* (discus), *kunta* (lance), *tomara* (javelin), *sūla* (trident spit), *lauḍa* (light club), *bhiṇḍipāla* (crooked club), *savvala* (an iron spear), *paṭṭisa* (battle-axe), *cammeṭṭha* (stone covered with leather), *duhaṇa* (hatchet), *muṭṭhiya* (dagger), *asikheḍaga* (sword with a shield), *khagga* (sword),

59 The story of Sītā is narrated in the *Paumacariya*.

60 Dovaī's account is given in the *Nāyādhammakahā* (16).

61 The war caused by carrying away of Ruppiṇī and Paumāvaī by Kṛṣṇa is described in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (8. 6).

62 The fight over *Tārā* is narrated in the *Triṣaṣṭi* (7. 6). Also cf *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 16

63 The stories of Kāñcanā, Ahinnikā, Kinnarī, Surūpā and Vijjumaī, says Abhayadeva, are not known ; however, Weber identified Ahinnikā with Ahalyā, the Indra's mistress in the *Mahābhārata*.

64 The war caused by the abduction by Arjuna of Subhadrā is narrated in the *Triṣaṣṭi*. (8. 6).

65 The story of the war on the slave-girl Suvannaguliyā is narrated in the *Uttarādhyayana* Commentary (18, p 253 ff).

66 The story of the fight over Rohiṇī, the mother of Balarāma and the wife of Vasudeva, is narrated in *Triṣaṣṭi*. (8. 4), Amulyacandra Sen, *A Critical Introduction to the Paṇhavāgaraṇāim*, p. 49 f,

67 *Nāyā*. 8.

68 *Āva cū*., p. 89.

69 *Uttarā Ṭī*., 9, 135 f.

70 *Ibid*., 9, 140 f.

71 *Āva. cū*., II, p 172 ff.

72 *Musaṇḍi* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 70. 34).

cāpa (bow), *nārāca* (iron-tipped arrow), *kanaka* (arrow), *kappinī* (a kind of scissors), *vāsi* (adze), *parasu* (axe)[73] and *sayagghī*).[74] Defensive armours are mentioned. We are told that Kūnika used an impregnable coat of mail while fighting with Ceḍaga.[75]

Besides, magical missiles are mentioned. *nāgabāṇa*, *tāmasabāṇa*, *paumabāṇa*, *vahnibāṇa*, etc., are described as great weapons. It is said that the serpent missiles when set on the bow went forth like an arrow, then they transmuted into snakes and acted like a lasso; the missiles of darkness filled the battle-field with darkness.[76]

Flags, drums and trumpets roused the spirit of the warriors in ancient India. The warriors from either side tried to cut off the banners with arrows and they captured the flag and the battle was lost to the party which lost the flag[77] The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāsya* refers to four types of drums of Kanha Vāsudeva, *viz.*, *Komudikā*,[78] *Saṅgāmiyā*, *Dubbhuiyā*, and *Asivopasaminī*; it is said that they all were made of sandal wood. The drums were also imbued with medicinal properties. It is said that *asivopasaminī* when beaten banished the diseases for the period of six months.[79] Kṛṣna possessed another drum named *Sannāhiya*[80] Hearing the beating of this drum the warriors gathered together and marched against the king Paumaṇābha.[81]

[73] pp. 17a, 44, *Uttarā*, 19, 51 55, 58, 61 f, see also *Abhidhānacintāmani* (3 446-451); *Arthaśāstra* (p 110 f); *Rāmāyana*, III, 22 20 ff, Pusalkar, *Bhāsa—A Study*, ch xvi, p. 414; Banerjea, *op cit*, p. 204 ff, Mehta, *P B I*, p 171, Date, *G T*, *The Art of War in Ancient India*; Oppert Gustav, *Weapons and Armoury Organisation*

[74] *Uttarā.*, 9 18, also *Ramāyāna*, I, 6 11, according to the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 110), it was a big pillar with immense number of sharp points on its surface and situated on the top of a fort wall *Śataghnī* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* III, 291. 24; it was ornamented with bells and was bright and hollow, it was flung by hand and like a sword or a spear, was split to pieces, by arrows, Hopkins, *J A.O S*, Vol 13, p 300

[75] *Bhag*, 7. 9

[76] *Jīvā*, 3, p 152a f, *Jambu Sū Tī*, 21, p 124 a Also see *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 27, 56.

[77] cf *Bhag.*, 7 9, for the description of a flag see *Kalpa*, 3. 40. cf. also *Rāmāyaṇa* III, 27 15; *Mahābhārata*, VI, 83. 46 ff.

[78] In the *Mahābhārata*, *Kaumudikī* is mentioned as a mace of Krsna; it was capable of slaying every *daitya*, *Mahābhārata*, I, 251. 28

[79] *Pī.*, 356

[80] *Sannāhikī bherī* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 244. 38)

[81] *Nāyā.*, 16, p. 190.

CHAPTER V

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In India the village or a *gāma* formed the unit of administration. The bulk of the people as in present days lived in the villages,[1] which are described as lying within easy reach of the village cocks (*kukkuṭa-saṇḍeya-gāmapaura*),[2] and where one had to pay the eighteen kinds of taxes referred to above. A *gāma* was the generic term for an inhabited settlement, not possessing the fortifications of a *nagara* or a *rājadhānī*. A large number of families were reckoned as constituting a village.[3] We are told that ninety six villages were attached to the town of Mahurā[4] An interesting discussion is given on what constitutes a village in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*. (i) It is said that the limit of a village is the distance to which the cows go to graze. But this assertion is contested on the ground that the cows proceeded to other villages as well; (ii) then it is stated that the distance which a grass-cutter or a wood-cutter, getting up early morning covers and after doing his work returns at sunset to his own place is called a village; (iii) a village has its own boundary; (iv) its extent could also be determined by the situation of the village garden at the end; (v) or the village-well; (vi) or the extent to which the children go to play; (vii) the nucleus of the village is formed by the erection of *devakula*.

The *sabhā* or assembly hall was situated in the centre of the village.[5] Different types of villages are mentioned such as *uttānakamallakākāra, avāṅmukhamallakākāra, sampuṭamallakākāra, khaṇḍamallakākāra* and others.[6]

The majority of villages probably contained a heterogeneous population, but there were others inhabited exclusively or mainly by members of a single caste or followers of a single occupation. For example, the city of Vaisāli had three important suburbs, namely, Bambhaṇagāma, Khattiya-Kuṇḍaggāma and Vāṇiyagāma, inhabited by Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and the merchants in succession. Then there were villages inhabited by peacock-tamers (*mayūraposaga*),[7] acrobats[8] and robbers (*corapalli*).[9] There were border villages (*paccantagāma*) which were in a very insecure condition.[10]

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1 *Bhag. Ṭī.*, 1. 1.
2 *Rāyā. Sū.*, I. p. 4.
3 *Das. cū*, p. 373. According to the *Nāyā. Ṭī.* (1, p. 43) a village constituted ten thousand families; cf. *Arthaśāstra*, p 45.
4 *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1. 1776.
5 *Ibid.*, 1. 1096 ff.
6 *Ibid.*, 1. 1103-8
7 *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 3, p. 57.
8 *Āva. cū.*, p. 544.
9 *Vivā.*, 3, p. 20 etc.
10 See *Āva. cū.*, II, p. 198; cf. *Cullanārada Jātaka* (No. 477), IV, p. 220.

Unfortunately, we do not get much information regarding the internal administration of a village. We are told that the villages were under their headmen known as *bhoiya*, *bhojika*[11] or *mayahara*,[12] and the meetings of the villages were held in a hall (*sabhā*).[13] The leader of a *maḍamba* which consisted of eighteen thousand villages was known as *māḍambiya*.[14] The guild or corporation (*seṇi*) was a powerful factor in the economic and social life of the people of the village, about which we shall see further.

[11] *Vya. Bhā.*, 7. 459; cf. *gāmabhojaka* in the *Dhammapada A.*, I, p. 69; also see Rhys Davids, *Cambridge History of India*, p. 203.
[12] *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 3, p. 57; 9, p. 142a; 18, p. 250.
[13] *Rāyā. Sū.*, 21.
[14] *Vya. Bhā. Ṭī.*, 4. 52.

SECTION III

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I PRODUCTION

CHAPTER II DISTRIBUTION

CHAPTER III EXCHANGE

CHAPTER IV CONSUMPTION

INTRODUCTION

Economic factors have been the main guiding factors in the history of the world from time immemorial. Unfortunately, the material at our disposal representing the economic conditions in India is fragmentary and hence it is not possible to present a systematic account of every fact relating to the economic life of the ancient Indian people. Neverthe-less, whatever meagre account we could gather is given here in the hope it will prove valuable.

CHAPTER I

PRODUCTION

I

LAND

Every activity which results in creation of wealth is to be regarded as productive. The productive agents of material wealth are Land, Labour, Capital and Organisation, which are called Factors of Production in Economics.

The rural economy of India was based chiefly on a system of village communities of landowners or what is known as peasant proprietorship.[1] The common occupation of the villagers was agriculture or farming.

AGRICULTURE. METHODS OF PLOUGHING

Around the *gāma* lay its *khetta* or pastures, and its woodland or uncleared jungle. *Khetta* or agricultural land is considered among ten kinds of external possessions, the rest being buildings, gold etc., seeds of grains, collection of wood-fuel and grass, friends and relatives, conveyance, furniture such as bed, sofa etc., male and female slaves and utensils.[2] A *khetta* is divided into *setu* and *ketu*; the former being irrigated by Persian wheels (*arahatta*) etc., and the latter by rainfall.[3] Various methods of irrigation were adopted in different countries. For example, in the country of Lāta the fields received their moisture from rainfall, in Sindhu from rivers, in Draviḍa from ponds, in Uttarāpatha from wells and in Dimbharelaka from floods.[4]

Agriculture was carried on by ploughing. It is said that ploughing (*kisikamma*) being done at the right time yields plenty of fruit.[5] The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāsya* refers to the festival in honour of the ploughing deity (*Sītā-janna*).[6] *Phoḍikamma* is mentioned as a ploughman's profession dealing in ploughing the field.[7] In a prosperous country the lands were ploughed with hundreds and thousands of ploughshares, and sugar-cane, barley and rice were cultivated by shrewd (*pannatta*) farmers (*karisaya*).[8] We read of the *gāhāvai* Ānanda who limited the cultivable

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1 Rhys Davids, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 198.
2 *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1. 825.
3 *ibid.*, 1. 826.
4 *ibid.*, 1. 1239.
5 *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 1 p. 10a.
6 3. 3647. Cf the Gṛhva Sūtras (e g *Gobhila*, IV 4 28f, S B E vol xxx) where the goddess *Sītā* is the rustic deity of the furrows and sacrifice may be offered to her anywhere but preferably on a field of rice or barley (V M Apte, *Social and Religious Life in the Gṛhya Sūtras*, X, p. 129) In the *Mahābhārata* (VII, 105 19) *Sītā* is a goddess of harvest. The legend of the birth of *Sīta* is mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* (I. 66 14f), and it is by furrowing the earth with a plough that Janaka gives birth to Sītā (Sylvan Levi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 8-15).
7 *Uvā.*, 1, p. 11.
8 *Ovā.*, 1, p. 2; *Āva. Ṭī.*, (Hari.), 947, p. 426a.

land to five hundred ploughshares, each one ploughing one hundred acres (*niyattana*) of land.[9] Three types of ploughshares are mentioned, viz., *hala*, *kuliya* and *naṅgala*;[10] spade (*kuddāla*) was known.[11] The fields were guarded by fences.[12] *Saṃvāha* is mentioned as a place situated in a mountain or any other place of safety where the farmers used to store their corn.[13]

FIELD-CROPS

The predominant grain harvest was that of rice of different varieties. *Kalamaśāli*, a variety of rice, which was cultivated in the eastern part of India, is referred to;[14] *raktaśāli*, *mahāśāli* and *gandhaśāli* are mentionedn as other varieties.[15] The paddy was sown during the rains, and whe- ripe, the crops were harvested with newly sharpened sickles (*navapajjana ehim asiehim*), thrashed, winnowed and then taken to the granary where they were filled in new jars which were sealed and kept in a corner.[16]

The piles of the rings (*valaya*) were made of straws and leaves known as *kaḍapalla* and *tavapalla*, which served as receptacles for grains. The inside floor space was coated with cow-dung[17] The round heap of grains was called *puñja*; if it was slightly oblong, it was called *rāsi*; a heap of grains was pressed close to the wall; besmeared with ashes (*lāñchita*); sealed with cow-dung and kept in the required places, screening it with a screen of straw and bamboos.[18] In the rainy season the grains were stored in a granary made of earth (*koṭṭha*), of straw and bamboos (*palla*), a granary standing on pillars (*mañca*), the upper storey of the house (*mālā*), covered with a lid coated with cow-dung (*olitta*), coated with mud all over (*litta*), closed (*pihita*), sealed with earthen seals (*muddiya*) by making lines etc. (*lañchiya*).[19] *Kumbhī*, *karabhī*,[20] *pallaga*,[21] *muttolī*, *mukha*, *idura*, *alindaa* and *ocāra* (*apacārī*)[22] are mentioned as other forms of storage In *gañjasālā* various kinds of corns were pounded.[23] A wooden mortar (*udūkhala*) for cleansing rice and a threshing floor (*khalaya*) were known.[24] Then mention is made of a cattle-feeding-basket (*gokilañja*) and winnowing sieve (*suppakattara*).[25]

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9 *Utta.*, 1, p. 7. *Nivartana* is mentioned by Baudhāyana; it was an area of land sufficient to support one man from its produce, (S. K. Das, *The Economic History of Ancient India*, p. 190).
10 *Āca. Cū.* p. 81
11 *Utta.* 2 p. 23.
12 *Abhidhānarājendrakosa*, under *Nagara*.
13 *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1. 1092
14 *Utta.*, 1, p. 8; cf *Theragāthā* (V S 208) where corn fields of Magadha are described a rich
15 *Bṛh Bhā.*, 2 3301 3397 f. also see *Caraka*, ch 27 p 738
16 *Nāyā.*, 7. p. 86.
17 *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 2 3298.
18 *ibid* 2. 3311 f.
19 *Bṛh Sū.* 2 3 and *Bhāṣya* 2 3391-9
20 *Bṛh. Sū.*, 2 10. Also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II 91 71
21 *Āva. Ṭī.*, (Hari.) p 75 a *Mutoli* is also mentioned in the *Majjhima* I p 57
22 *Anu. Sū.* 131.
23 *Nisī Cū.*, 9, p 511
24 *Vya. Bhā.*, 10 28, *Sūya.* 4. 2. 12.
25 *Utta.*, 2, p. 23, *Sūya.*, 4 7, 12.

Seventeen kinds of grains are mentioned :—rice (*vrīhi*), barley (*yava*), *masūra* (*Ervum Hirsutum*), wheat (*godhūma*), *mudga* (Phraseolus), sesame (*tila*), gram (*canaka*), *anu* (*Panicum Miliaceum*), *priyangu* (panic seeds), *kodrava*, (Paspalum Scrobiculatum), *akusthaka* (mod. *kuttu*), rice (*sāli*),[26] a pulse (*āḍhaki*), *kalaya* (leguminous seeds), *kulattha* (Dolichos Uniflorus) and *sana* (Linum Usitatissimum).[27] Amongst other field grain crops are mentioned *māsa*, (Phraseolus Radialus), *nipphava*,[28] *ālisandaga*,[29] *saḍina*, *palimanthaka*,[30] *atasi* (linseed), *kusumba* (safflower), *kangu* (millet), *rālaga*, (the resin of Shorea Rubusta), *tuvarī* (*tūvar* in Hindi), *kodūsā* (or *kodrava*) and mustard (*sarisava*).[31] The storers of crores and crores of *kumbhas* of these grains in their granary were called *naiyatikas*.[32]

Among the spices mention is made of fresh ginger (*singavera*),[33] dry ginger (*suntha*), cloves (*lavanga*), turmeric (*haridrā*), cumin (*vesana*, com. *jīraka*),[34] pepper (*mariya*), *pippala*(long pepper) and mustard (*sarisavatthaga*) [35]

Sugar-cane (*ucchu*) seems to have been a common crop. A sugar-cane store-house (*ucchughara*) is mentioned in Dasapura[36] The sugar-cane press (*mahājanta*. *kolluka*)[37] is also mentioned. There were sheds for pressing sugar-cane (*jantasālā*).[38] *Jantapīlana* was a profession that dealt in crushing sugar-cane, sesamum and other articles by machines [39] Puṇḍravardhana was noted for sugar-cane's crop.[40] Three varieties of sugar are mentioned, viz., *maccandikā*, *pupphottara* and *paumuttara* [41] Gourds were grown[42] and were used by the ascetics[43].

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[26] *Sāli* was a high quality of rice, cf *Pinda Nir*, 162-5

[27] *Brh Bhā*, 1 828, *Sūtra*, 2 1, also *Panna* 1 23-40 Instead of *anu*, *priyangu*, *akusthaka*, *āḍhaki and kalāya* the *Vyavahāra Bhā* (1, p 132) gives *rālaga*, *māsa cavala*, *tuvari* and *nispāva*, (also *Das cu* p 212, cf *Arthaśāstra* p 128f, also *Milindapañha*, p 267, *Mārkandeya* p. 244)

[28] It is also called *valla* (a kind of wheat, Monier Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*) and it produced intoxication (*Brh Bhā*. 5 6049) Jacobi renders it as Dolichos Sinensis, *Jain Sūtras*, xlv, p 374

[29] According to Weber it was a grain coming from Alexandria, and hence points to commercial intercourse with that country, *Sacred Literature of the Jains*, p 38.

[30] *Bhag* 21. 2

[31] ibid, 21 3, also *Uttrā Tī* 3 p 58a *Koradūsaka* is mentioned as a best corn in the *Mahābhārata* (III 193 19)

[32] *Vya*. *Bhā* 1, p 131a

[33] *Bhag* 8 3, *Panna*., 1 23 31, 43-4

[34] *Pinda Nir*, 54

[35] *Acā*. II, 1 8 268.

[36] *Uttarā Tī* 2, p 23

[37] *Uttarā Sū* 19 53, *Brh Bhā* pī 575

[38] *Vya Bhā* 10 484

[39] *Uvā* 1, p. 11, *Jambu Tī* 3, p 193a

[40] *Tandula Tī*, p. 2 a In Bengal there were two kinds of sugar-cane, the pale-yellow or *pundra* and the dark purple or black called *kājali* or *kajoli* The former gave its name to the province of Pundradesa to the east of the Ganges, and latter to Kajolaka, or the province to the west of the Ganges, *Arch Survey of India* (*Report* 1879-80, *Bihar and Bengal*), Vol XV, 1882, p 38

[41] *Nāyā*, 17, p 203 *Panna Sū* 17 227 *Matsyandika* and *khandaśarkarā* are mentioned, in the *Arthaśāstra* (p 100) and the *Caraka*, ch 27, p 795, and are rendered as granulated sugar and sugar-candy respectively *Puspottara* is mentioned in the *Vaidyakaśabda Sindhu* and is rendered by *Puspaśarkarā*, which is perhaps the same as '*phūlsākar*' in Gujerati. *Padmottara* probably was prepared from lotus (Bechardas, *Bhagvān Mahāvira nī dharmakathāo*, p. 249f) It is translated as Carthamus Tinctorius by Monier Williams.

[42] *Uttarā Tī*, 6, p 103.

[43] *Brh*. *Bhā*., 1 2886.

Among fibre-yielding plants cotton (*kappāsa*) was the most important [44] Among other kinds of fabrics silk, wool (*unniya*), linen (*khoma*) and hemp (*sana*) may be mentioned.[45] *Sāli* or *sālmali* trees which yielded a silky fibre were known.[46]

Probably indigo (*guliya*)[47] and such other chemical dyes were produced; the mention of a variety of colours[48] leads us to believe in their existence.

Betel (*tambola*)[49] and arecca-nut (*pūyaphli*)[50] were known. A large number of vegetables were grown Brinjal, cucumber, radish, *pālanka* (mod *pālak*), *karella* (mod. *karelā*), tuber roots (*āluga*), water-nuts (*śrngāṭaka*, mod. *singhodā*), onion, garlic[51] and gourd[52] may be mentioned Vegetable-gardens (*kaccha*) were known where radish, cucumber etc., were grown[53].

Despite these precautions, famines occured mainly on account of scarcity of rain We have referred to a long famine which broke out in Pāda-liputta during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. Uttarāpatha was visited by another famine during the time of Vairasāmī [54] Still another famine is mentioned in Dakkhināvaha which is said to have lasted for a long time.[55] The *Vyavahāra Bhāsya* preserves a tradition of still another famine in Kosala when a certain *śrāvaka*, who had hoarded plenty of grain, did not allow the five hundred Jain monks to leave the country during the famine Later on, however, when the prices of grain went up he sold his grain and the *sādhus* for want of food committed suicide and were devoured by vultures [56] During famine people even sold their children [57]

The failure of crops or scarcity of food was also due to floods which caused severe distress to the people. The *Titthogāli* gives a graphic description of the flood in Pādaliputta which created havoc.[58] The flood in Kāncanapura is recorded in the *Vyavahāra Bhāsya*[59]. The destruction of Srāvastī due to frequent overflowing of Acirāvati is mentioned[60].

44 Cf *Uttarā Tī* 4 p 78a
45 See infra, chapter on Dress
46 *Panna* 1 23 30, *Uttarā*, 10 52, *Sūya*, 6 18.
47 *Nāyā*, 1, p 10
48 *Kinha, nīla, lohiya haliddа* and *sukilla* are mentioned (*Rāya*, 3, p 20)
49 *Uvā*, 1, p 9
50 *Panna*, 1. 23 35
51 *ibid*, 1 23 18-9, 26ff, 37-8, 43ff, *Uttarā Sū*, 36 96 ff
52 *Nāyā*, 16, p 163
53 *Ācā* II 3 3 350
54 *Āva cū*, p 396
55 *ibid*, p 404
56 *Vya Bhā*, 10 557-60
57 *Mahā Nī*, p 28
58 Kalyan Vijaya Vira Nirvāna, p 42. ff
59 10. 450
60 See infra, Section V under Kuṇālā.

HORTICULTURE

Horticulture was in a much developed state We get descriptions of gardens and parks (*ārāma*: *ujjāṇa*· *nijjāṇa*)[61] and a large variety of garden-produce both fruits and flowers; almost every big city preserved one or more gardens Various kinds of creepers (*layā* : *valli*) are mentioned; the chief amongst them being *pauma*, *nāga*, *asoga*, *campaga*, *cūya*, *vāsanti*, *aimuttaya*, *kunda and sāma*[62] Among flowers most important being *navamālikā*, *koraṇṭaka*, *bandhujīvaka*, *kaṇcia*, *jāti*, *mogara*, *yūthikā*, *mallikā*. *vāsanti*, *mṛgadantikā*, *campaka*, *kunda* and others.[63]

Among fruits mention may be made of mango, fig, plaintain, date, wood-apple, citron, bread-fruit, pomegranate, grapes, cocoanut, and others[64]. Mango-groves consisting of one thousand mango trees were also known.[65]

Koṭṭaka was a drying place for fruits, people used to gather fruits from jungles and store them at this place; they carried them in waggons, bundles etc. to cities for sale.[66] Four methods of ripening fruits are mentioned. Some fruits such as mango etc. were ripened by covering them with husk or straw (*indhana*). *Tinduka* (a fruit of the ebony tree) and other fruits were ripened by subjecting them to a heating process. The process was that first a hollow was made in which the cow-dung fire was lit; around this other hollows were made which were filled with raw fruits. Those hollows were connected with the central hollow by means of holes and thus the fruits ripened by the heat of the fire (*dhūma*). Then cucumber (*cirbhaṭa*) and citron (*bījapūra*) etc. ripened by mixing them with ripe fruits (*gandha*) Lastly, the fruits ripened in their natural way on trees (*vaccha*).[67]

It is said that the people of Konkaṇa were fond of fruits and flowers and they maintained themselves by selling them.[68] Flower-houses were made during festivals[69]

Among the miscellaneous products mention may be made of saffron (*kuṃkuma*), camphor (*kappūra*), cloves (*lavaṅga*), lac, sandal,[70] honey (*mahu*)[71] and others.

Then we have waste lands which may be classified into cremation or burial grounds, forests and pastures, mining and river tracts.

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61 See *Bhag*, *Tī*, 6 7, *Rāya Tī Sū.*, 1, p 5, *Bṛh Bhā Vr*, 4. 4522; 1. 3170f; *Anu cū.*, p. 53 *Nisi cū*, 8, p 494

62 *Rāya. Sū*, 3, p 18, *Nāyā* 1, p 10

63 *Panna*, 1 23 23-5 For the flower and plants see *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 94. 8ff; also S. K. Das, *op. cit* pp 104f, 206-7

64 *Panna*. 1, 23 12-7, *Ācā* II, 1 8 266

65 *Uvā* 7, p. 47 for similar references in the *Jātakas* see S K Das, *op. cit.*, p. 207 f.

66 *Bṛh Bhā* 1 872

67 *ibid.*, 1. 8411

68 *ibid.*, 1. 1239

69 *Nāyā*, 8, pp. 93, 95, 103.

70 *ibid.*, 1, pp 3, 10

71 Three varieties of honey are mentioned, viz *macchiya*, *kuttiya* and *bhāmara* (*Āva, cū*, II, p. 319); also see *Caraka*, ch. 27, p. 796.

The pasture grounds (*daviya*)[72] were very useful where herds of cattle and goats were grazed. *Davaggi* is mentioned as a profession that dealt in burning grass and protecting the fields.[73] The cowherds (*govālaka*) and shepherds (*ajāpāla: chāgaliya*) were employed, who led the herds to these grounds for grazing. We hear of a shepherd who was very good at shooting and used to make holes in the leaves of a banyan tree with his tiny bow (*dhanuhiyā*).[74]

REARING OF LIVE STOCK AND DAIRY FARMING

Cattle were a highly esteemed form of wealth in ancient India, and cows, buffaloes, oxen and sheep were included among the precious possessions of a king.[75] *Vaya* (*vraja*) also known as *sangilla*[76], or a herd of cattle is mentioned; each *vraja* consisting of ten thousand cows[77] It is said that king Karakandu was very fond of the herds of cattle (*gokula*) and possessed a number of herds of kine.[78]

Breeding and rearing of cattle was an essential concern of the people. The *Ābhīras* (mod. *Ahīr*), who tended the cows, are mentioned. We are told of an *Ābhīra* woman of Mathurā, who used to supply milk and curds to a perfumer. Once upon a time at the wedding of her son she invited the perfumer and his wife. The perfumer could not attend the ceremony in person but he sent various clothes and ornaments for the bride and the bridegroom as a gift. The *Ābhīras* were much pleased at this and in return they presented two strong-bodied bull-calves to the perfumer[79]

Cattle were supplied with necessary grass and water (*tanapāniya*) There were large cow-pens (*gomaṇḍava*) where the herds of cows, bulls and calves were kept. A cattle-lifter (*kūḍaggāha*) is mentioned, who used to go to the cow-pen and rob the cattle at night.[80] Quarrels among cowherds are frequently referred to. The cows of various colours such as black, blue, red, white, and brindled were known; cows were often attacked and devoured by lions and tigers in the jungle.[81]

Dairy farming was in an advanced state and the supply of milk and its four products (*gorasa*), viz., curds, butter-milk, butter and *ghee*, was abundant and so people could get highly nutritious food. The milk of cow, buffalo, camel, goat and sheep is mentioned.[82] *Khīraghara* was known as a place where products of milk were available in plenty.[83] The cattle

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72 *Ācā.* II, 3. 2. 350.
73 *Uvā* , 1, p 11.
74 *Uttarā. Tī.* 5, p. 103.
75 *Ovā Sū.*, 6, also *Āva Tī.* (Hari), p 128 For the list of cattle see *Panna* 1 34
76 *Vya Bhā* 2. 23.
77 *Uvā.*, 1, p 6, also *Bṛh Bhā* , 3 4268
78 *Uttarā. Tī* , 9, p. 134a.
79 *Āva. Nir.*, 471; *Āva cū* , *p* 280 f.
80 *Vivā.* 2, p. 14 f.
81 *Āva. cū.*, p. 44.
82 *ibid.* II, p 319.
83 *Niśī. cū.*, 9, p. 511.

were also utilised for the production of hide, bones, ivory nails and hair.[84] Slaughter houses (*sūnā*) were known. A slaughter house is mentioned where five hundred buffaloes were slaughtered every day.[85]

Then we had flocks of sheep and goats confined in an enclosure (*vāḍaga*).[86] They were utilised for wool-production. The brooms (*rayaharaṇa*) and blankets were made of sheep wool.[87] People used to kill sheep and eat their flesh seasoned with salt, oil and pepper[88] Mention is made of a young ram which was fed on rice and grass till it was fattened and was killed on the arrival of the guest.[89] Veterinary science was also in a developed stage.[90]

ARBORICULTURE

Coming to the forest lands,[91] India seems to have been rich in forest tracts. A forest (*aḍavī*) of eighteen *yojanas* is mentioned near Rāyagiha.[92] Almost the whole country was covered with a large variety of trees. Many species of trees covered with fruits and flowers, are mentioned : *nimba, āmra, jambu, sāla, aṅkola, bakula, palāsa, putrañjīva, bibhītaka, śiṃśapā, śrīparṇī, asoka, tinduka, kapittha, mātuliṅga, bilva, āmalaga, phanasa, dāḍima, aśvattha, udumbara, vata, nandi, tilaka, sirīṣa, saptaparṇa, lodhra, candana, arjuna, tālatamāla* and others.[93]

The trees provided the country with materials for the construction of houses, vehicles etc. Various kinds of bamboos,[94] creepers,[95] grass,[96] medicinal herbs and roots[97] were to be found in plenty. *Vanakamma* is mentioned as a profession dealing in wood, which included the felling of trees. *Iṅgālakamma* was another profession that dealt in charcoal by preparing it from fire wood; it also included brick-making according to the commentator.[98]

There were wood-gatherers (*katthahāraga*), leaf-gatherers (*pattahāraga*) and grass-cutters (*taṇahāraga*) whom we meet frequently roaming about in the forest.[99]

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84 *Piṇḍa.* 50

85 *Āva. cū.,* II, p. 169.

86 *Vivā.,* 4, p. 30.

87 *Bṛh. Sū ,* 2. 25, *Bhā.* 3. 3914.

88 *Sūya* II, 6. 37.

89 *Uttarā ,* 7. 1 ff.

90 *Nisī cū ,* 19, p. 1244.

91 Various terms are mentioned to denote a forest; *vana, vanakhaṇḍa vanarāji* and *kānana*, for explanation see *Bhag. Tī ,* 5 7, *Anu. cū ,* p 53.

92 *Uttarā. Tī ,* 8, p 125

93 *Panna* 1 23 12ff, 35f *Rāya* 3, p 12 *Thā.* 10., 736 For useful trees in the *Atharvaveda* see S K Das, *op cit ,* pp 98-103, also pp. 105-8, 204-9, *Rāmāyaṇa,* III, 15.15 ff; IV.1 76 ff, *Mahābharāta* II, 57 44 ff.

94 *Vamsa, veṇu and kanaka* are mentioned as varieties of bamboo (*Paṇṇa.* I. 23. 32).

95 For various kinds of *latās* and *vallis* see *ibid ,* 1. 23. 25 f.

96 For various kinds of grass see ibid., 1. 23 33f

97 For various kind of herbs etc. see *ibid.,* 1 23.40

98 *Uvā.* 1, p. 11, also cf. *Vya. Bhā.* 3. 89, *Ācā* II. 2 303.

99 *Nāyā.* 13. p. 143, *Bṛh. Bhā.,* 1. 1097, *Anu. Sū.,* 130.

HUNTING

Then we come to hunting. As flesh-eating was common in those days, hunting had its great value. The kings used to go for hunting with a large retinue. We are told about king Sañjaya who chased the deer on horseback in the Kesara garden.[100] Hunting (*miyavaha*) is referred to in the *Bhagavati*;[101] there were regular hunters (*migaluddhaya*) whose occupation was to capture or kill the animals and earn their living by selling them. Hunting with hounds is also mentioned.[102] Such hunters were called *soṇiya* (*śaunika*); others who captured animals by snare were known as *vāgurika*.[103] Snares and traps (*kūḍajāla*) are mentioned.[104] Even elephants were hunted.[105]

POULTRY

Another industry was that of bird-catching and fowling. We meet the fowlers (*sauṇiya*) with bow and arrow aiming at partridges, ducks. quails, pigeons, monkeys and francoline partridges (*kapiñjala*)[106] Birds were caught with hawks (*vidaṁsiya*), trapped in nets (*jāla*) and captured with the help of bird-lime (*leppa*)[107] With spades and bamboos, baskets in their hands, the fowlers (*aṇḍāvaṇiya*) went in search of eggs of female crow, owl, pigeon, *ṭiṭṭibhi*, crane, pea-hen and hen, which were cooked in baking-pans and were sold.[108] Peacock-tamers (*posaga*) were also known.[109] Cuckoos,[110] partridges,[111] parrots, *madana sālikās*[112] (the female of the cuckoo) and other birds were tamed.

FISHERIES

Fishing formed another occupation. Various ways of catching fish[113] were known. Fish were caught with hooks (*jāla*) and in bow-net (*maggarajālaa*) and then cleaned and killed.[114] A settlement of fishermen (*macchaṇḍhvāḍaga*) is mentioned, where a large number *of* fishermen

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100 *Uttarā. Sū.*, 18. 2f.
101 1. 8.
102 *Sūya.* II, 2. 31.
103 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1. 2766; *Vya. Bhā.* 3. p 20a.
104 *Uttarā.* 19. 63.
105 *Sūya.* II, 6; 9 2.
106 *ibid.* II. 2. 31f For the list of birds see *Paṇṇa.* 1. 35, *Rāyā. sū.* 3.
107 *Uttarā.* 19. 65.
108 *Vivā.* 3, p. 22.
109 *Vya*, *Bhā.* 3. p. 20a; *Nāyā* 3. p. 62.
110 *Ogha.*, p. 126.
111 *Vasu.*, p. 57.
112 *Āva. cū*, p 558.
113 For various species of fish see *Panna.* 1. 33. For similar reference in the *Jātakas* see S K. Das, *op. cit.* p. 212.
114 *Uttarā.* 19. 64; cf. *Vivā* (8, p 47) which mentions twenty two ways of catching fish. *dahagalaṇa, dahamalaṇa, dahamahana, dahavahaṇa, dahapavana, ayampula, pañacapula, macchpandhala, macchapuccha, jambhā tisirā, bhisirā, dhisarā, visirā, hilliri, jhilliri, jāla. gala, kūḍapāsa vakkabandha, suttabandha* and *vālabandha.*

was employed. They went to the river Jaunā, filled their boats with fish, dried them, cooked them and sold them in the market.[115] Tortoises were also caught for purposes of food.[116]

MANUFACTURES

TEXTILES—SPINNING AND WEAVING

Now we come to the various manufacturing industries prevalent in those days. Next to agriculture, spinning and weaving was the most important industry. The cloth makers (*nantikka* : *kolia*) are described as one of the five important craftsmen, others being the potters, the carpenters, the black-smiths and the barbers.[117] Mention is made of dealers in *dussa* (*dosiya*), yarn (*sottiya*) and cotton (*kappāsiya*). Then there were tailors (*tunnāga*), weavers (*tantuvāya*) and makers of silken cloth (*pattakūla*).[118] The *sīvaga* (tailors) and *chimpāya* (calico printers, *chimpi* in Hindi) were included among important craftsmen.[119]

Carding is mentioned. The *seduga* cotton after the seeds were removed were carded (*pinjiya*) and from this slivers (*pelu*) were prepared.[120] Spinning of cotton[121] and that of the bark of *dugulla* tree[122] and grass[123] (*vaccaka*, *muñjam*) was also known.

Weaving sheds (*tantuvāyasālā*) are mentioned; one such shed was situated outside the suburb of Nālandā,[124] Various kinds of cloths were known and regular trade was carried on in cloths.

Then there was the washing and dyeing industry. Washermen were included among eighteen corporations. Soda (*sajjiyākhāra*) is mentioned as washing material The clothes were moistened with it and heated on fire and then washed with clean water [125] Thrashing against stone,[126] brushing (*ghattha*), rubbing (*mattha*), and perfuming (*sampadhūmiya*) of clothes was known [127] Mention is also made of laundries *rayagasālā*).[128]

Clothes such as towels etc. were dyed in saffron.[129] Clothes dyed in red colour (*kāsāi*) were worn in hot weather.[130] The *parivrājakas* used

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115 *Vivā.* 8, p 46 f; *Vya. Bhā* 3 p 20a
116 *Nāyā.* 4.
117 *Āva, cū.*, p. 156, *Āva. Tī*, (Hari.), 947, p. 426a
118 *Panna.* 1. 37.
119 *Jambu. Tī*, 3, p 193a.
120 *Brh. Bhā.*, 1. 2996.
121 *Sūya Tī* II., 6. p 388.
122 *Nisī cū*, 7, p. 467
123 *Brh Bhā.*, 2 3675.
124 *Āva. cū.*, *p* 282.
125 *Nāyā*, 5, p. 74; also *Āva,. cū* II. p 61.
126 *Pinda Nir* 34.
127 *Ācā* II 5. 1. 367; *Brh. Sū*, 1. 45.
128 *Vya. Bhā.*, 10.484.
129 *Nāyā* 1, p. 7.
130 *Brh. Bhā. Pī.*, 613.

to wear clothes dyed in red ochre (*geruya*).[131] The profession of a *rajaka*, washerman, combined with itself the profession of a dyer as well.

MINING AND METALLURGY

India was rich in mineral wealth and so in ancient India mining was an important industry. The principle kinds of ores obtained from mines were iron, copper, tin, lead, silver (*hiranna* or *ruppa*), gold (*suvanna*) and diamond.[132] Kāliyadīva possessed rich mines of gold, jewels and diamond.[133] Iron and other metals were obtained by fusion.[134]

Besides metals there were hundreds of mineral substances such as salt (*loṇa*), soda (*ūsa*), yellow orpiment (*hariyāla*), vermilion (*hingulaya*), arsenic (*manosila*), mercury (*sāsaga*), antimony (*añjana*) and others.[135]

In those days Indians and specially women-folk were as fond of ornaments as they are now. So gold-smiths (*suvannakāra*) had a flourishing trade.[136] Kumāranandi is mentioned as a rich gold-smith of Campā,[137] Musiyadāraya was another gold-smith (*kalāya*) of Teyalipura.[138]

Fourteen kinds of ornaments are mentioned : a chain of eighteen strings of pearls (*hāra*), a chain of nine strings of pearls (*addhahāra*), a single string of pearls (*egāvali*), a necklace of gold and gems (*kanagāvali*), a necklace of jewels (*rayanāvali*), a necklace of pearls (*muttāvali*), an armlet for upper arm (*keūra*), a bracelet (*kadaya*), an armlet (*tudiya*), finger ring (*muddā*), ear-rings (*kuṇḍala*), a chain round the chest (*urasutta*), crest-jewel (*cūlamani*) and ornament worn between the eye-brows on the forehead (*tilaya*).[139]

The ornaments *hāra*, *addahāra*, *tisaraya* (a chain of three strings of pearls), *palamba* (a pearl pendant), *kaḍisutta* (waist band), *geviyya* (neck-chain), *angulejjaya* (rings), *kayābharana* (ornaments of the hair), *kadaga*, *tuḍiya*, *muddiā*, *kuṇḍala*, *mauḍa* (diadem), *valaga* (bracelets),[140] *angaya* (bracelets worn on the upper arm), *pāyapalamba* (ornament reaching the feet),[141] *vatthasuttaga* (ornament string for the waist) and *muravi*[142] were worn by males. The ornaments for ladies were *neura* (anklets), *mehalā* (girdle), *hāra*, *kaḍaga*, *khuḍḍaya* (a ring), *valaya*, *kundala*, *rayana* (jewels)[143] and *dīnāramālā* (a necklace of jewels with a string of *dīnāra*).[144]

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131 *Nisī. cū*, 13. p. 865.
132 *ibid.* 5, p. 412 *Panna.* 1 15; *Thā.* 4 349
133 *Nāyā.* 17, p. 202, *Uttarā* 36.73
134 *Brh. Bhā.* 1. 1090
135 *Uttarā. Sū* 36 74, *Sūya* II 3 61, *Panna* 1 15
136 It is said that the ornaments of Visākhā were made in four months with five hundred gold-smiths working day and night. (*Dhammapada* A I. pp 384 ff)
137 *Āva, cū* p. 397.
138 *Nāyā.*, 14.
139 *Jambu. Ti Sū*, 3, p 216f, *Nisī cū*, p 465
140 *Ovā. Sū*, 31, p. 122, *Kalpa. Sū*, 4. 62.
141 *Nāyā*, 1. p. 30.
142 *Rāya. Sū.*, 137.
143 *Nāyā*, 1, p. 11.
144 *Kalpa. Sū.*, 3. 36; also see *Dhammapada A.* I. p. 394.

A golden frontlet measuring four fingers (*patta*)[145] and signet rings (*nāmamuddā*) were common.[146]

The elephants and horses were decorated with ornaments. The elephants are described as fitted with armours and decorated with neck-ornaments made of various gems and jewels and upper garment. The horses also were gaily caprisoned with armour and decorated with small mirrors (*thāsaga*) on their waists and chowries.[147] *Mayūrāṅgacūlikās* are referred to as ornaments of cows.[148]

Then the rich and the kings used golden vessels for eating and drinking. The chair, bed-steads, thrones and royal cars used by kings inlaid with gold.[149] Golden vases (*bhiṅgāra*) were not unknown.[150]

Silver (*rajata*) was used frequently. Silver vessels are mentioned freely.[151]

Among precious metals and jewellery mention may be made of precious stones, jewels, pearls, conches, corals, rubies,[152] *gomedaya* (zircon), *rucaka, aṅka, sphatika* (quartz) *lohitākṣa, marakata* (emerald), *masāragalla,*[153] *bhujagamocaka* (serpentine), *indranīla* (sapphire), *hamsagarbha* (a variety of rock-crystl), *pulaka, sāugandhika* (a ruby) *candraprabhā, vaiḍūrya* (cat's eye), *jalakānta* or *candrakānta* (moon-stone) and *sūryakānta*[154] (sun-stone).

Nanda is mentioned as a rich jeweller of Rāyagiha.[155]

Bhaṇḍāgāra was known as a treasury where sixteen kinds of jewels were preserved.[156] We also hear often of expert stringers (*muttis*).[157]

WORKERS IN METALS

The smiths (*kammāra*) had a flourishing trade. They supplied agriculture with ploughshares, spades and other implements. Iron sticks, chains and various other instruments are mentioned.[158] Domestic vessels such as pots, pans and bowls were prepared from iron (*aya*), tin (*taua*), copper (*tamba*), zinc (*jasada*) and lead (*sīsaga*).[159]

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145 *Nisī cū* 7, p 165

146. *Āva. Ti* (Hari), p. 700.

147 *Vivā* 2 p 13

148. *Vya. Bha.* 3 35.

149 Cf the list of *Pītidāna* in *Nāyā.* Ti., 1, p. 42a

150 *ibid*, 1, p 26.

151 *ibid* cf *p.* 42a

152 *Kalpa, Sū* 4 89

153 Also mentioned in the *Pūrāṇa* III 43 28, Mahabhā VII 16 66 *Masāragalla* stones were obtained from Masāra hill (Rhys Davids, *Milinda, Trans* 177 n 6) According to *Sammoha Vinodinī* (p 64) it is *kebaramni* According to Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji (*New Indian Antiquary*, Vol II (1939-40), however, *Masāragalla* is of Chinese origin

154 *Uttarā. Sū* 36 751, *Panna* 1 17, also cf *Bṛhatsamhitā* (79, 4 f), *Divyāvadāna* (XVIII, p 229), *Milindapañha, p* 118 The *Paramatthadīapanī*, the com. on the *Udana*, p 103 mentions the following gems *Vajira, mahānila, indanīla, marakata, veluriya, padumaraga, phussarāga, kakkataṇa, phulaka, vimala, lohitanka, phalika, pavāla, jotiraṅga, gomuṭaka, gomeda, sogandhika, muttā, sankha, añjanamūla, rājāvatta, amatabbāka, piyaka* and *brāhmaṇi*; also see Agastimat's list in the Les Lapidairas Indiens, p. 137 by Louis Finot, Paris, 1896.

155 *Nāyā* 13 p 141

156 *Nisī Cū*, 9, p. 511.

157 *Āva. Tī* (Hari), 947. p. 426a.

158 See Supra.

159 *Ovā. Sū*, 38. p. 173. The com. adds. *kācavalantiga* (?). *vaṭṭaloha, kamsaloha, hārapuṭaka* and *rītikā*.

Among other vessels we had plates (*thāla*), small plates (*pāi*), cistern (*thāsaga*, *tāsā* in Hindi), cups (*mallaga*), spoons (*kaivnya*), *avaeja* (*tāpikāhasta*, com. ?), frying pans (*avapakka*), and bowls (*karoḍiā*, *katorī* in Hindi).[160] Among cooking utensils mention is made of various pans or kettle-pans such as *tavaya*, (round iron plate), *kavalli* (*khapadā* in Hindi), *kanduya* (saucepan), etc.[161] *Candālaga* (cylindrical cistern, *kanḍāl* in Hindi) is mentioned as a copper vessel[162]

Iron was converted into steel and various tools and weapons, and coats of mail, already referred to, were prepared on a large scale Then knives (*pippalaga*), needles (*sui* · *āriya*), nail-cutters (*nakkhaccani*) and surgical boxes (*satthakosa*) were also[163] fashioned.

Smith shops (*kammārasālā aggikamma*)[164] are mentioned. There was one such shop in Vesālī[165] Smith's shops were also known as *samara*[166] or *āesa*.[167] Iron furnaces (*ayakottha*) are referred to which were filled with ore and a man handled it with tongs (*sanḍasī*), then it was taken and put on the anvil (*ahikaranī*).[168] Iron was malleted, cut, torn, filed and was mouldded by black-smiths.[169]

Bronziers (*kamsakāra*) are included among the nine *kārus*.[170] Copper plates were often used for inscribing messages.[171]

IVORY WORK

Ivory work (*dantavāṇijja*) was still another industry Money was awarded to *pulindas*, who killed elephants and brought tusks.[172] People killed elephants for the sale of ivory.[173] Images of ivory were known.[174] Ivory workers are mentioned among important artisans (*silpa-ārya*).[175] Work in bone, horn, conch-shell is mentioned Necklaces were made from the bones of monkey and were put round the neck of children. Necklaces from ivory and cowries were also common[176]

POTTERY

The potters (*kumbhakāra*) made various kinds of pots, jars, bowls and vessels. Saddālaputta is mentioned as a well-known potter of Polāsapura,

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160 See marriage gifts mentioned in the Com on the *Nāyā* 1, p. 42a
161 *Viā*. 3, p. 22, *Bhag*. 11. 9.
162 *Sūya* 4 2 13
163 *Bih* *Bhā*. 1 2883f
164 *Vya*. *Bhā* 10 484
165 *Āva*. *cū*, p 292.
166 *Uttarā* *Sū*, 1. 26
167 *Ācā*. II, 2. 303
168 *Bhag* 16 1
169 *Uttarā*. *Sū*, 19 67.
170 *Jambu* 3, p 193a.
171 *Āva* *Tī*., (Hari), p 683.
172 *Āva*. *cū*. II, p 296.
173 *ibid*. p 169.
174 *Brh*. *Bhā*, 1. 2469.
175 *Pannā*. 1. 37.
176 *Nisī*. *Cū*., 7, p. 464.

who owned five hundred shops outside the city, where a number of servants was employed. The usual way of making the wares was this: lumps of clay (*mattiyā*) were kneaded with water and mixed with ashes (*chāra*) and dung (*karisa*); the mixture was placed on a wheel (*cakka*) and by rotating it various vessels such as *karaya* (*karvā* in Hindi)[177], *vāraya*, *pihaḍaya*, *ghaḍaya*, *addhaghaḍaya*, *kalasaya*, *aliñjara*, *jambūla*, and *uṭṭiyā*[178] were moulded.[179] The wet vessels were then dried and baked.

In connection with the potter's shops five apartments (*sālā*) are mentioned. In *paṇiyasālā* the potters sold their wares, in *bhāṇḍasālā* the vessels were kept in safety, in *kammasālā* the vessels were moulded, in *pacanasālā* they were baked, and in *indhanasālā* the fuel such as grass, dung, etc., was stored.[180]

It seems that like the weavers and the black-smiths, the potters found favour with the Jain *sramaṇas*, who frequently took shelter in their shops.[181] The potter Saddālaputta, to whom reference has been made already, was an adherent of the Jain faith. Hālāhala was another rich potter-woman of Srāvastī in whose shop Gosāla stayed.[182]

BUILDING INDUSTRIES

The art of house-building seems to have been considerably developed in ancient India. Masonry and carpentry were important occupations and masons and carpenters were employed to lay foundation of buildings, palaces, halls, stair-cases, underground constructions, tanks and temples. Wooden images were prepared.[183] The carpenters made furniture for houses, such as seats, chairs, bed-steads, pegs, boxes, toys, etc. Wooden sandals (*pādalehaṇiyā*) were prepared from the wood of various trees[184] by clever artists and were set with *vaiḍūrya* and excellent *riṣṭa* and *añjana* (granite) and ornamented with glittering and precious stones.[185] They also built ships, boats, vehicles of all sorts, carts and chariots of different kinds and various machines. A *rathakāra* or a chariot-maker is mentioned as one of the four jewels of a certain king.[186] We are told that a *rathakāra* built an aerial car known as *garuḍa*.[187] Axe, hatchet and other implements were known as tools of a carpenter.[188]

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177 *Karaya* or *dhammakaraya* is mentioned as a water-pot used by the Jain monks (*Bṛh. Bhā.* 1. 2882, 2890). It is also referred to in the *Cullavagga* (*V.* 13. 1) with a strainer so fixed into it that a quantity of water could be filtered quickly. Perhaps it was a wooden pot.

178 Four types of earthen jar (*ghaṭa*) are referred to: *chuddakuḍḍa*, *boḍakuḍḍa*, *khaṇḍakuḍḍa*, and *sagala*; *Āva. cū.*, p. 122.

179 *Uvā.* 7, p. 51. *Anu. Sū.*, 132, p. 139. For a similar description see *Kusa Jātaka* (No. 531), V. p. 291.

180 *Nisī. cū.*, 15, p. 1058, *Bṛh. Bhā.* 2. 3444 f.

181 Cf. *Āva. cū.*, p. 285, also *Āva. Ṭī.*, (Hari.), p. 484 f.

182 *Bhag.* 15.

183 *Āva. cū.*, p. 115.

184 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3, 4097.

185 *Kalpa Sū.*, 1. 14, cf. *Mahāvagga*, V. 8. 1. 3; *Dhammapada A.*, Vol. III, pp. 330, 451.

186 *Āva. Cū.*, II. p. 59.

187 *ibid.* p. 541; *Vasu.*, p. 62 f, also mentioned in the *Dhammapada A.*, III, p. 135.

188 *Uttarā. Sū.*, 19. 66.

Bricks (*itthkā*),[189] earth (*puḍhavī*), gravel (*sakkarā*), sand (*vāluyā*) and stone (*uvala*)[190] were known as building materials. Stuccoed house (*sudhākammanta*) is mentioned; stone-houses (*selovatthāna*) were common.[191]

LIGHT AND FUEL

Lamps are mentioned which were lighted after sunset. Three kinds of lamps are referred to, viz., *avalambana*, *utkampana* and *pañjara*. The first was fastened by chains, the second had upright shafts and the third was spherical like globe.[192] The lamps were lighted in the shrines of *Skanda* and *Mukunda* where sometimes the images caught fire by the upturning of the lamps by dogs or mice.[193] Torch-bearers (*dīviya*) were also a familiar feature of the times.[194] Cow-dung and wood were used as fuel.

CANE AND LEAF WORK

Then there were mat-workers (*chavviya*), grass sandal-makers (*muñjapādukākāra*),[195] rope-makers (*varuda*),[196] winnowing sieve-makers[197] and basket-makers. Other products of this industry were palm-leaf fans (*tālavanta*; *vālavījana*),[198] umbrellas (*vāsattāna*),[199] made from *palāsa* leaf and bamboo sticks, brooms (*venusampacchanī*),[200] and bamboo boxes (*venuphala*).[201] Then there were loops or pingoes (*sikkaka*) which were used by monks for carrying fruits, etc., in the absence of bowls. *Kāpotikā* (a bamboo lath provided with slings at each end) was used to carry an *ācārya*, a child or a *sādhu* suffering from serious pain.[202] Brooms (*rayaharana*) and bags (*goni*) were made from *darbha* and *muñja* grass.[203] Shops (*kammanta*) are mentioned where different articles were made from *darbha* grass, bark, trees, etc.[204] The leaves of the birch tree (*bhujjapatta*) were used for sending messages.[205]

DYES, GUMS, AND CHEMICALS

Among the miscellaneous industries, may be mentioned the dye-producing work. Probably dyes were made from substances such as

189 *Brh. Bhā.* 3. 470.
190 *Sūya* II, 3. 61.
191 *Ācā.* II, 2. 303.
192 See *Nayā Ṭī.*, 1, 42a, under marriage gifts
193 *Brh Bhā.* 2. 3465.
194 *Nisī. cū*, 9, p 522
195 *Panna.* 1. 37.
196 *Nisī cū.*, II, p. 747.
197 *ibid.*
198 *Āva. cū*, p. 138., *Nāyā.* 1, p 11.
199 *Brh. Bhā.* 3. 4097.
200 *Rāya. Sū.* 21, p. 63
201 *Sūya.* 4. 2. 8.
202 *Brh. Bhā.* 1. 2886 f.
203 *ibid.* 2. 3675.
204 *Ācā.* II. 2. 303.
205 *Āva. cū.*, p. 530.

cikura (a plant) *haritāla* (yellow orpiment), *sarisava* (mustard), the flowers of *kimsuka*, *japākusuma* and *bandhujīvaka*, *hiṅgula* (vermilion), *kuṁkuma* (saffron), blue lotus, *sirīsa* flowers, and collyrium, etc.[206] The colour of *kimirāya* (crimson) is mentioned.[207] Preparation of lac-juice (*lakkhārasa*) was also an important industry, and it was used by ladies and children for adorning their hands and feet.[208] It is mentioned in the cremation rites that the mark of red lac (*alattapudaga*) was applied to the stomach and back of those who were given to vultures for feeding.[209] A variety of stone, which was used for polishing the pots, is mentioned.[210]

LEATHER WORK

Leather industry was in a high state of development. The *cammakāra* also known as *padakāra*[211] or the cobbler manufactured a large variety of things They prepared leather bags for holding water[212], straps, (*cammettha*)[213] and made fittings for the musical instruments (*kinika*)[214]

The cobblers also prepared various qualities of shoes which formed an important part of their industry. Various kinds of hides were known. *Katti* (skin) was used by monks to strew the fruits etc in order to protect them from dust; it was also used as a covering for want of clothing.[215] Hairless skin was prescribed for the use of a Jain nun.[216] Five kinds of skin were specifically known, the hide of cow, buffalo, goat, sheep and wild animals[217] The skin of a tiger (*dīvi*) and that of a hyena (*taraccha*) was prescribed for the use of nuns in case they were sick.[218] The hide of a dog is mentioned[219]

FLOWERS, PERFUMES AND COSMETICS

Flowers were grown in large quantities as we have seen. The garland-makers made beautiful garlands and bouquets,[220] which are described as filling the ten quarters with their delightful fragrance and charmingly interwoven with fragrant flowers of all seasons and of various colours, attracting swarms of bees[221] producing sweet sounds. We hear of Ajjuṇaya, a garland-maker who had a flower-garden (*pupp'ārāma*) in Rāyagiha where flowers of fine colours were grown Ajjunaya used to

206 *Nāyā* 1 p 10, also *Bhag* 18 6.
207 *Anu Sū* 37, *Āva. Tī*, (Hari.), p 396a
208 *ibid* *Niryā*. 3, p. 51; *Uvā* 1, p 11.; *Āva. Tī* (Hari), p. 398
209 *Nisī cū* II. p 764
210 *Pinda Nir. Tī*. 15
211 *Nisī cū*, II, p 747
212 *Panna* 1 37.
213 *Āva cū*, p 292.
214 *Vya Bhā* 3, p. 20a.
215 *Brh Bhā*. 1. 2885
216 *Brh Sū*. 3 3, *Bhā*. 3 3810.
217 *ibid* 3 3824
218 *ibid* 3 3817 f
219 *ibid*. 1 1016
220 *Nāyā*. 8. p. 95.
221 *Kalpa. Sū*. 3. 37.

go to the garden every day with his flower-basket (*patthiya* : *piḍaga*) to gather flowers and sell them on the high-road of the town.[222] *Pupphachajjiya*, *pupphapaḍalaga*, *pupphacangerī* are mentioned as flower baskets[223]

Various kinds of garlands (*malla* : *dāma*) are mentioned which were made from grass, *muñja*, reeds (*vetta*), *madana* flowers, peacock feathers (*piñcha*), cotton stalk, horns, conch-shells, bones, *bhiṇḍa* (Abelmoschus Esculentus), wood, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds and green grass. The five-coloured garlands of *vīrana* grass were made in Mathurā and were worn at the time of cohabitation.[224] Flower-crests (*mauḍa*) were also known.[225] The doors were decorated with garlands and wreaths at the time of the wedding-ceremony and on other special occasions.

Mention is made of bathing-towels (*ullaṇiyā*), tooth-sticks (*dantavana*), oily substances (*abbhangaṇa*), fragrant unguents (*uvvattana*), baths (*majjana*), clothes (*vattha*), ointments (*vilevana*) flowers, ornaments, incense and mouth-perfume (*muhavāsa*).[226].

Perfumes and essential oils were prepared. The oils were prepared from *atasi*, *kusumba* and *sarisava*.[227] Oil was also obtained from the mountain Maru. *Sayapāga* and *sahassapāga* were medicinal oils prepared by boiling them a hundred times or a thousand times with the concoction of some medicinal herbs. Other nourishing and exhilarating fragrant oils were known which gave relief to the body. The application of sandalwood paste was very common ; various kinds of scented water were known.[228] Perfumes of sweet scents from Dardara and Malaya are mentioned.[229]

Then there is mention of *kottha*,[230] *tagara* (Tabernaemontana Coronarea), *elā* (the bark of cinnamon), *coya* (cardamom), *campā*, *damaṇa*, *kuṁkuma*, (saffron), candana (sandal-wood), *usīra* (the fragrant root of the plant Andropogon Muricatus), *maruā*, *jāli*, *jūhiyā*, *malliyā*, *nhāṇamalliyā*, *ketagī*, *pāḍali*, *nemāliyā*, *aguru* (aloe), *lavanga* (clove), *vāsa* (Gendarussa Vulgaris) and *kappūra* (camphor) as fragrant substance.[231]

Incense was burnt in the shrines, sleeping chambers and in the cities. *Dhūvakaḍucchuya* and *dhūvaghaḍī* are mentioned as incense pots.[232]

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222 *Anta*, 3. p 31 f.
223 *Rāya sū* 23, also cf. *Āva. cū.* II, p. 62.
224 *Nisī cū* 7, p. 464.
225 *Das cū.* 2, p. 76.
226 *Uvā.* 1
227 *Āva cū.* II, p 319
228 *Ovā Sū* 31, p 121 f The *Divyāvadāna* (XXVII, p 403) refers to milk, saffron, camphor and various aromatic herbs to perfume the water.
229 *Nāyā Sū* 1, p 30 Also see *Rāmāyana*, II. 91 24.
230 *Kotta* (*kustha*) or 'costus' has been mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*. It is said to have grown in the snowy mountains of the north and thence been taken to the people in the eastern art It still grows in the same region, *i e*, Kashmir as mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (Dr. Motichand, *J* of the *Indian Society of Oriental Art*, VIII, 1940, p. 71)
231 *Rāya Sū* 39, p 91.
232 *Nāyā* 8, 96 ; Rāya. Su 100, also see Girija Prasanna Majumdar's article on Toilet in the *Indian Culture*, *I*, 1-4, p. 658 f.

Perfumes and various other articles were sold in the markets ; perfumers' shops (*gandhiyasālā*)[233] were also common in those times.

The feet were rubbed, kneaded (*samvāha*), stroked (*palimaddana*), painted (*raya*), smeared (*makkha*) and anointed (*abbhunga*) with oil, *ghee*, or marrow ; they were rubbed (*ullodha*) and shampooed (*uvvala*) with *lodhra*, ground drugs (*kakka*), powder (*cunna*) or dye (*vanna*), washed with hot or cold water, anointed with ointment and perfumed with incense.[234]

Then among the articles of toilets and cosmetics of women mention may be made of collyrium box (*añjnī*), [235] *lodhra*-powder, *lodhra*-flowers, pills (*guliyā*), *kustha*, *tagara*, *agaru* [236] pounded with *usīra*, oil for anointing the face and lip-salve (*nandicunna*) Myrobalans (*āmalaga*), stick to paint the mark upon the forehead (*tilagakaranī*), pin to apply collyrium [237] to the eyes (*añjanasalāgā*), pincers (*sandāsaga*), comb (*phaniha*), ribbon to bind up the hair (*sīhalipāsaga*), looking glass (*ādamsaga*), areca nut (*pūyaphala*) and betel (*tambolaya*) [238]

OTHER OCCUPATIONS

Besides the above-mentioned people who lived by the plough, by herds, and by merchandise, there were other occupations where utilities consisted in a mere service rendered and not in actual labour Amongst them may be mentioned those who embraced learned professions, such as teachers (*āyariya*), physicians (*tegicchaka vejja*), men qualified in testing sites for house-building (*vatthupādhaga*), men well-versed in the science of prognostication (*lakkhanapādhaka*) and fortune-tellers (*nemittaka*). Amongst those who amused the public were musicians (*gandhavvia*), acrobats (*nada*), dancers (*nattaga*), rope-walkers (*jalla*), wrestlers (*malla*), boxers (*mutthiya*), jesters (*velambaya*), reciters (*kahaga*), jumpers (*pavaga*), ballad-reciters (*lāsaga*), story-tellers (*āikkhaga*), pole-dancers (*lankha*), picture-show-men (*mankha*), pipers (*tūnailla*), lute-players (*tumbavīniya*), snake charmers (*bhujaga*), minstrels (*māgaha*), [239] jesters (*hāsakara*), buffoons (*damarakara*), flatterers (*cātukara*), love-makers (*kandappakara*) and mimes (*kokkuiya*). Then there were various attendants on the king such as foot-soldiers carrying an umbrella, throne, footstool, pair of sandals (*sapāuyā*), staff-carriers (*latthiggaha*), spear-carriers (*kunta*), bow-carriers (*cāva*), chowry-carriers (*camara*), fetter-carriers

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233 *Vya. Bhā.* 9 23, cf ten kinds of *gandhas* *mūla, sāra, pheggu, taca, papatikā, rasa, puppha, phala, patta and gandha* (*Paramatthadīpanī*, the com. on the *Udāna*. p 300)

234 *Ācā*, II, 13 395 , also *Brh. Bhā* 5 6035.

235 also see *Rāmāyana* II. 91. 76

236 It was well stocked in the Mauryan treasury for the purpose of making perfume, incense, etc. Aloe-wood is a large ever green tree of Sylhet and Tenassarim, Dr Motichand, *op cit*, p 85 , also see *Arthasāstra*, p 80

237 In the *Mahāvagga* (VI. ii 1) five kinds of eye-ointment or collyrium are mentioned ; black collyrium, '*rasa*' ointments, '*sota*' ointment obtained from the streams and rivers, '*geruka*' and '*kahalla*' or soot obtained from the flame of a lamp

238 *Sūya* 4 2 7 ff , for *tambūl* see Girja Prasanna Majumdar's article on Food in the *Indian Culture* I, 1-4, p 419.

239 *Ovā* p .2

(*pāsaga*), account-book-carriers (*potthaya*), board-carriers (*phalaka*), seat-carriers (*pīḍha*), lute-carriers (*vīṇā*), oil pot-carriers (*kutuva*) and betel box-carriers (*haḍappha*).[240]

II

LABOUR

Nature and man are the primary factors of production. We have considered the part played by nature in production and shall now consider labour or what is called the human factor in Economics.

Unfortunately, we do not know much about the details of labour A distinction is made between high and low (*juṅgiya*) labour. The hunters, fowlers, fishermen, washermen, peacock-tamers, barbers, cobblers[1] and in some countries even black-smiths and wine-sellers[2] came under the category of low Then the following fifteen occupations were despised, since there was fear of injury to living beings (*kammādāna*) in these occupations: dealing in charcoal by preparing it from fire-wood (*iṅgālakamma*), dealing in wood (*vanakamma*), carts (*sāḍīkamma*), occupation with fares (*bhāḍīkamma*), ploughing (*phoḍīkamma*), ivory (*danta*), lac (*lakkha*), liquors (*rasa*), and poison (*visa*), crushing of sugar-cane etc. by machinery (*jantapīlaṇa*), branding animals or castrating bulls etc. (*nillañchana*), setting fire to woods (*davaggidāvanayā*), draining lakes and ponds (*saradahatalāvasosanaya*), and bringing up women for immoral purposes (*asaijaṇaposaṇayā*).[3]

SLAVES AND SERVANTS

Among various servants employed in the houses there were *kammakāras*, *ghodas* (*caṭṭa*), *pesas* (messengers), *dāsas* and *govālas* (cowherds). They were apparently not so enthusiastic about religion. It is said that often they made fun of the Jain monks. There were quarrels between the servants and the *sādhus* and instigated by the servants the householder sometimes turned the *sādhus* out of the house.[4]

Slavery was quite common in those days. Both male and female slaves (*dāsas* and *dāsis*) were household or domestic servants who resided in the family of the master and performed all sorts of household work.

Slavery was so common that not only kings[5] and wealthy people but even others kept slaves in their families. The slaves are mentioned along with land (*khetta*), dwelling place (*vatthu*), gold (*hiraṇṇa*) and cattle (*pasu*) as the means of pleasure.[6] *Dāsa* and *dāsī* are also included among

240 *ibid*, p. 130.
1 *Nisī*, *cū* 4. p. 345; 11. p. 747.
2 *ibid* 16, p. 1117
3 *Uvā*. 1, p. 11, Bhag. 8 5, cf. the five low occupations in the com. of *Dīgh.*, Vol. I, p. 235.
4 *Bṛh Bhā* 1. 2634.
5 Cf *Oiā* 6, p 20.
6 *Uttarā. Sū.* 3. 17.

ten kinds of external possessions.[7] Six classes[8] of slaves are specifically mentioned . those who were slaves from their birth (*gabbha*), those who were bought (*kīya*), those who could not pay their debts (*aṇaya*),[9] those who were made slaves during famine (*dubbhikkha*),[10] those who could not pay the fine (*sāvarāha*), and those who were taken prisoners (*ruddha*).[11]

Reference has been made to *Cilāya*, a slave boy who was born of *cilātikā*. He was strong and sturdy and used to take care of Suṁsumā, the daughter of his master, and made her play with other children. Once he stole the toys of other children and was turned out by his master.[12] Panthaya was another handsome slave boy of Dhana of Rāyagiha, who used to carry his master's child in his arm to the royal road to play. He also used to take his master's tiffin to the prison at the time of the latter's imprisonment.[13] The *Avasyaka cūrṇi* refers to another slave-boy who, after the death of his master, became the owner of his property.[14]

Like slave-boys, slave-girls also were employed in domestic service. The *Uttarādhyayana* commentary refers to a festival of the female slaves (*dāsīmaha*).[15] The Jain texts mention a number of female slaves who were brought from foreign countries They put on the garb of their countries, and were skilful, accomplished and well-trained. They were hunch-backed women (*khujja*), *kirāta* women (*cilāya*), dwarf women (*vāmana*), misshapen women (*vaḍabhī*), women of Babbara, Bausa, Joṇiya, Palhava, Īsinaya, Dhorukiṇa, Lāsiya, Lakusika, Draviḍa, Siṁhala, Araba, Pulinda, Pakkaṇa, Murunda, Sabara, and of Persian race (Pārasa).[16] Female slaves also were given away by way of gifts.[17]

Nurses were engaged to tend children. Five kinds of nurses are mentioned : wet-nurse (*khīra*), toilet-nurse, (*maṇḍaṇa*), bath-nurse (*majjaṇa*), play-nurse (*kīlāvaṇa*) and lap-nurse (*aṅka*).[18]

Slaves could regain freedom through voluntary manumission by their master. The custom of making the female servants free from slavery by washing their forehead (*matthayadhoyāo*) is mentioned.[19]

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7 *Bṛh Bhā.* 1. 825.

8 Cf seven kinds of slaves enumerated in the Manu. (VIII, 415), fourteen in the *Yājñavalkya* (14, p. 249), *Kauṭilya* devotes a whole chapter on slavery (*Artha* pp 205-208).

9 The *Piṇḍa Nir* (319) refers to a widow who purchased two *palis* of oil from a grocer on credit, on non-payment of which she had to serve him as a slave-girl Cf on paying the value (for which one is enslaved), a slave shall regain his Aryahood (*Artha* , p. 207).

10 Cf. *Vya Bhā* 2·207 , also *Mahā Nī.* p 28.

11 *Nisī cū* II, p. 741 Candanā the first female disciple of Mahāvīra, was a slave of this type (*Āva cū* , p. 318). According to the *Jātakas*, slavery might be incurred through capture, commuted death sentence, debt, voluntary self-degradation or judicial punishment (Rhys Davids, *Cambridge History of India*, p 205)

12 *Nāyā.* 18, p. 207 , also *Āva cū* p 497.

13 *Nāyā.* p 2, p. 51 f.

14 p. 540.

15 3, p 124.

16 *Nāyā.* 1, p 21 ; *Bhag.* 9 6.

17 *Nāyā* 1, p. 23.

18 *ibid.* 1, p. 21.

19 *Ibid.*; *Vya. Bhā.* 6·208 ; this custom is also mentioned by *Nārada* (V. 42 f.).

HIRED LABOURERS

The hirelings or the wage-earners (*bhayaga*) laboured for others in return for some payment, whether in kind or in money. The position of the hired workers was not happy like those of slaves, but still they enjoyed a certain freedom which the slaves could not enjoy.

Four kinds of wage-earners are mentioned :—(1) who were given their daily wages (*divasabhayaga*) either in kind or in money, (11) who were specifically engaged on a journey (*jattābhayaga*), who were employed on contract system of the whole lot (*uccattabhayaga*), who were employed on daily contract basis stipulating that, if they did the contracted work, they would be paid the stipulated sum (*kabbālabhayaga*).[20]

Then the *koḍumbiyapurisas* or the general family servants[21] are mentioned ; they were the servants of the family and carried out the instructions of their masters. Other servants did the work of removing ashes, cowdung and rubbish ; they cleaned and sprinkled the place, offered water for washing feet and for bathing and did all external duties (*bāhirapesaṇa*). Others did the duty of thrashing, pounding, grinding, husking, cooking, serving and distributing food.[22] A valet (*ceta*) worked as a footman to the king.[23]

III

CAPITAL

Capital includes all wealth other than land intended for further production of wealth Wealth production would be negligible and primitive without the help of capital

In those days large scale production was unknown and there was no idea of what is called now the co-operative movement.

The state took away a pretty heavy share of the national wealth in the form of taxes, fines etc and the state capital was not invested for purpose of industrial development [1] The only people who possessed capital were a few rich tradesmen, the *dhanavantas*, who owned one crore of silver, gems, pearls, corals and jewels inherited from their father and forefathers, and the *ibbhas*[2] These people also either spent their surplus on luxuries and unproductive purposes like alms-giving or hoarded the wealth [3]

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20 *Thā* 4 271
21 Cf *Nārada* (V 24)
22 *Nāyā* , 7, p 88
23 *Ovā Sū* 9
1 *P B I.*, p 211.
2 *Vya Bhā* 1, p. 131 a.
3 Cf. *Uvā.* 1, p 6.

IV

ORGANISATION

The function of an organiser is to plan the enterprise, bring together land, labour and capital in the most suitable proportion and to take the risk involved in the undertaking.

It is remarkable that, in spite of a comparative lower stage of trading enterprise and lack of fluid capital for investment in industrial purposes, there was commercial or trading organisation. Important craftsmen such as goldsmiths, painters and washermen were organised into guilds (*seṇi*) Jain texts like those of the Buddhists mention eighteen guilds. We are told that in honour of the *cakka* jewel, Bharata called upon eighteen guilds (*seṇippaseṇi*) and ordered them to exempt people from customs, taxes and confiscations, to stop the transaction of buying and selling, to prevent policemen from entering the houses of the public and to cancel fines and debts.[1] The guilds of the goldsmiths,[2] the painters,[3] and washermen[4] are mentioned and about the rest we do not know much.[5] Neither we are told about their character, their constitution or organisation. But it seems that a *seni* was organised in the form of a union and its functions were legislative, judicial and executive.[6] A *seni* worked for the welfare of its members and it had a right to approach the king and demand justice. We are told of a painter who was ordered to be executed by prince Malladinna ; the guild of the painters visited the king, explained the matter and requested him to quash the sentence passed against the member of its union. The king was pleased to commute the sentence into banishment[7]. Then we hear of a washermen's guild approaching the king in order to demand justice.[8] In the words of Dr. Majumdar, a *śreṇi* was a corporation of people belonging to the same or different caste but belonging to the same trade and industry.[9] The *śreṇis* were the representative assemblies of the state and the king was obliged to respect their feelings and views.[10]

1 *Jambu.* 3. 43, p 193 f, also cf. *Āva. Cū.* p. 260.
2 *Nāyā* 8, p. 105.
3 *ibid.*, p 107
4 *Āva. cū* II, p 182.
5 The Jain texts mention five crafts (*sippa*) which are said to have been taught by Usabha. The five artisans were · potters, painters, cloth-makers, black-smiths and barbers (*ibid* p 156) Only four guilds are mentioned in the *Mahāummagga Jātaka* (No 546), VI, p 427 the wood-workers, the smiths, the leather workers, and the painters However, in the commentary on the *Jambuddivapannati* the following eighteen corporative unions are mentioned *kumbhāra* (potter), *pattailla* (*patel* in Gujerat), *suvannakāra* (goldsmith), *sūvakāra* (cook,), *gandhavva* (perfumer), *kāsavaga* (barber), *mālākāra* (garland-maker), *kacchakāra* (vegetable-seller, *kāchī* in Hindi), *tambolia* (dealer in betel-leaf), *cammayaru* (leather-worker), *jantapīlaya* (presser of oil, sugar cane etc), *gañchiya* (towel-seller) *chimpāya* (calico printer), *kamsakāra* (brazier), *siiaga* (tailor), guāra (?), *bhilla* and *dhīvara* Thefirst nine belonged to the category of *nāru* and the last nine to that, of *kārua* (3 43, p 193 f) ; also see the list given by Majumdar, *Corporative life in ancient India*, p. 18 ff Also *Rāmāyana*, II 83 12 ff.
6 *Vinaya*, IV, p 226 ; S K. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 244
7 *Nāyā* 8, p 107.
8 *Āva. cū* II, p 182.
9 *Corporative Life in Ancient India*, p. 17.
10 See Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-47.

Like craft-guilds there were merchant leagues also which included river and sea-going merchants and the caravan traders. We come across frequently caravans of carts laden with goods travelling across the country. There was a caravan leader (*satthavāha*) who used to lead his caravan slowly by the road flanked with stalls and villages, encamping at the proper places.[11] A *satthavāha* was considered as an important state officer who was expert in archery and administration,[12] and who with the permission of the king used to lead a caravan with various merchandise.[13] We frequently meet caravan leaders proclaiming publicly that those who accompanied them on the trip would be provided with food, drinks, clothes, utensils and medicines free of charge.[14] The insecure condition of the roads and the attack by organised band of robbers in those days necessitated a sort of co-operation among the travelling merchants and so they appointed one man as their leader.

A *seṭṭhi* was the foreman of the eighteen craftsmen.[15] *Seṭṭhi* is mentioned as an official whose forehead was invested with a golden plate inscribed with the image of a god.[16]

[11] Cf. *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1.3078.
[12] *Nisī cū.* 9. p. 522.
[13] *Anu cū.* p. 11.
[14] *Āva. Ṭī.* (Hari.), p. 114 a ff.
[15] *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3·3757. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Cambridge History of India*, 207; the famous *seṭṭhi* Anāthapiṇḍika of Sāvatthī, the millionaire lay-supporter of the *Saṅgha*, had some authority over his fellow traders.
[16] *Rāya. sū.* 148; also cf. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

CHAPTER II

DISTRIBUTION

The division of accumulated wealth between the various members of the community and of the annual income between its different members is the chief factor of distribution. In fact, very often the factors of production were conrolled by the same person or persons and so all the shares of the produce went to him. Thus on the whole, the question of distribution did not arise in those days as we find in the later stage of the evolution of society. Four principal shares of distribution are to be ditinguished : rent, wages, interest and profits.

RENT

Unfortunately, we know very little as to how the principles of distribution were governed. We have seen about the rent the amount of which was chiefly based on custom. One-ninth of the share of the produce from land went to the king, and almost all the rest was available for distribution among the people.

About wages or the remuneration of labour we have seen four kinds of wage-earners, who worked either for daily wages or on contract system. The wages were paid to the workers in kind or in money, generally in the former. We are told about a cow-herd who was given one-fourth of the milk produced daily as his wages ;[17] another was given the whole milk of a cow or a buffalo on the eighth day.[18] Share-holders were given one-half, one-fourth or one-sixth of the profit.[19]

INTEREST

Interest is the remuneration or the price for the services of capital. Loans and usury were common. *Aṇaya* or debt is mentioned. It is stated that, if the debtor (*dhāraṇiya*) was staying in his own country, he was bound to pay the debts, but if he went abroad and had no money, he was not responsible, for it is said that if a debtor went abroad on a sea-voyage and on the way his ship foundered and he saved his life with great difficulty with one piece of cloth on his person, he was not liable to pay the debts. If the debtor, however, had money, although not sufficient to pay the creditor in full, the latter could sue him and get his partial payment, which would be reckoned in full settlement of his debt. If the debts could not be paid in time, the debtor, however, had to work as a slave to the creditor.[20] We have already referred to a widow who

17 *Bṛh Bhā* 2 3581.
18 *Piṇḍa Nir* 369 ; cf *Nārada* (VI 10)
19 *Jñā* 3, p 280 ; *Sūya* II, 2, p 330a ; *Thā* 3 128.
20 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1, 2690 f ; 6. 6309.

purchased two *palis* of oil from a grocer on credit. The heavy interest meant doubling the debt every day and in course of time, when the woman could not clear it off, she had to serve him as a slave-girl.[21]

The term which appears in the Jain texts is *vaḍḍhi*, meaning profit or interest. *Gāhāvai* Ānanda of Vāṇiyagāma is said to have kept four crores of gold for lending on interest.[22]

PROFITS

The remuneration to the entrepreneur (organiser) who supplied the fourth factor in production, *viz* organisation, is called profits. These organisers stood between the producer and the trader, who purchased wholesale the surplus produce from the producers and sold it to the petty businessmen. Perhaps the only men who can correspond to these middle men were the rich *seṭṭhis* or the rich traders who travelled from place to place both on land and sea.[23]

21 Supra, p 107 f. n
22 *Uvā* 1. p. 6.
23 *P B. I. p.* 224.

CHAPTER III

EXCHANGE

Exchange is a vital part in economic system. Each individual is ordinarily dependent on others for the satisfaction of his needs. What one does not produce himself must be obtained from others in exchange for what one does produce.

INLAND TRADE

Trade was carried on briskly by land routes (*thala*) as well as by water routes (*jala*) in ancient India. Ānandapura,[1] Mahurā[2] and Dasannapura[3] are quoted as examples of *thalapattaṇa* where trade was carried by land; Dīva,[4] Kānanadīva[5] and Purima[6] that of *jalapaṭṭaṇa* where trade was carried by water; and Bharuyakaccha and Tāmalitti[7] that of *donamuha* where trade was carried by land as well as by water. The town where it was not possible to carry goods by land or water was known as *kabbaḍa* (a petty-town).[8]

Campā was an important industrial centre in those days; it was joined by Mithilā. The *Nāyādhammakahā* describes the sea-faring merchants (*saṁjattānāvāvāṇiyagā*) of Campā, who loaded their waggons (*sagaḍi-sāgaḍa*) with various goods and proceeded to deep harbour (*gambhīra poyapattaṇa*) In course of time, they arrived at the port of Mihilā and entered the city for trade.[9] Jiṇapāliya and Jiṇarakkhiya were other merchants of the town who made the thirteenth voyage of the Lavana Ocean.[10] Pālita was another businessman of Campā who went by boat (*poya*) to the town of Pihuṇḍa on business.[11]

Then Dhana is described as leader of a caravan who proceeded to Ahicchattā on trade with a caravan consisting of bullock-carts laden with merchandise.[12]

Ujjeṇī was another great centre of trade. We hear of Dhanavasu, a merchant of this place who left for Campā with a caravan and was attacked by robbers.[13] Ujjeṇī was also connected with Pārasakūla. Ayala loaded the boats (*vāhana*) with goods and journeyed to Pārasaula; he earned plenty of wealth there and anchored at Beṇṇāyaḍa.[14]

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1 *Bṛh. Bhā.* Vr. 1, 1090.
2 *Ācā. cū.* 7, p 281.
3 *Nisī. cū* 5 34 (MSS).
4 *Bṛh. Bhā op. cit.*
5 *Ācā. cū. op. cit.*
6 *Nisī cū op. cit*
7 *Bṛh. Bhā. op. cit.*
8 *Das. cū* p 360.
9 *Nāyā* 8, p. 97 ff.
10 *ibid*, 9, p. 121 f.
11 *Uttarā. sū.* 21. 2.
12 *Nāyā*, 15, p. 159.
13 *Āva. Nir.*, 1276 f.
14 *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 3, p. 64.

During the reign of king Pajjoya nine great stores or emporiums (*kuttiyāvaṇa*) are mentioned in Ujjenī, where all sorts of goods, including demons (*vāṇamantara*), were available.[15]

Mathurā was another business centre. People lived here only on trade and there was no cultivation of land in this town[16]. The merchants from Mathurā used to go to Dakkhiṇa Mahurā on business.[17] The *tankaṇa mlecchas* of Uttarāvaha are mentioned as travelling to Dakṣiṇāpatha for trade with valuable merchandise such as gold and ivory.[18] Sopāraya is described as another emporium of trade, which was inhabited by five hundred tradesmen (*negama*).[19] Then we had Suraṭṭha,[20] which was joined with Pāṇḍu Mahurā by sea.[21] We hear of the horse merchants arriving in Bāravai for trade[22]. Vasantapura was another emporium whence traders used to journey to Campā.[23] We hear of a merchant going from Khiipaitthiya to Vasantapura.[24] Then we had Hatthisīsa as a commercial centre where a number of merchants resided. From here the merchants journeyed to Kāliyadīva where there were rich mines of gold, jewels and diamonds and which was noted for horses.[25] Then we read of Pārasadīva which was visited by the merchants frequently,[26] and Sihaladīva which was a halting place for the sea-faring tradesmen.[27] From Sihala, Pārasa, Babbara Joniya, Damila, Araba, Pulinda, Bahalī and other non-Aryan countries India used to get female slaves as noted already.

EXPORTS—IMPORTS

What commodities were exported or imported or what exchanged inland we do not exactly know. With regard to inland trade we hear a number of commodities that were exchanged. We are told that the sea-faring merchants of Campā referred to above, loaded their carts with four kinds of goods, *viz.*, that which could be counted (*ganima*) as betel-nuts etc., balanced (*dharima*) as sugar etc., measured (*meya*) as *ghee*, rice, etc. and scrutinized (*paricchejja*) as cloth, jewel, etc. and making provision of various articles such as rice, flour (*samiya*), oil, *ghee*, molasses (*gula*), curds (*gorasa*), drinking water, water vessels, medicines, drugs, straw, wood, wearing apparel, and weapons etc. for their journey, they left for Mithilā by river.[28] As already mentioned, gold and ivory were

15 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3·4220 f.
16 *ibid.* Vr 1.1239.
17 *Āva. cū* 472
18 *Āva Ṭī.*, p 140 a.
19 *Bṛh. Bhā* 1. 2506.
20 *Das. cū. p.* 40.
21 *Āva. cū* II, 197.
22 *ibid* p 553.
23 *ibid.* p 531.
24 *Āva. Ṭī* (Hari.), p. 114a.
25 *Nāyā* 17, p 201 f.
26 *Āva. cū.* p. 448.
27 *Ācā. Ṭī.*, 6·3, p. 223a.
28 *Nāyā*, 8, p. 98.

carried from Uttarāpatha to Dakṣiṇāpatha for sale. Cloth seems to be an important exchangeable commodity. Mathurā and Vidisā are mentioned as manufacturing centres of cloths.[29] The country of Gauḍa was famous for silken garment.[30] We are told that the cloth coming from east to the country of Lāṭa was sold at a higher price.[31] Then Tāmalitti,[32] Malaya[33], Kāka,[34] Tosali,[35] Sindhu,[36] Dakṣiṇāpatha,[37] and China[38] were famous for various kinds of textiles. Nepāla was noted for fluffy blankets[39]; the woolen blankets were sold at a high price in Mahārāṣṭra.[40]

The *Nāyādhammakahā* refers to various kinds of cloth, which were loaded in waggons and were carried for sale.[41]

Horse was another important commodity that was exchanged in those days. Kālıyadīva was known for beautiful horses and it contained mines of silver, gold, jewels and diamonds.[42] Then the name of Kamboja is mentioned for horses.[43] Uttarāpatha was famous for thorough-bred horses.[44] Dīlavālıyā was noted for mules.[45]

Then Puṇḍra was known for black cows;[46] Bheraṇḍa for sugarcane;[47] and Mahāhimavanta for *gosīsa* sandal.[48]

Pārasaula or Persia was used to export various commodities such as *saṅkha, phopphala, candana, agaru, mañjiṭṭha,* silver, gold, gems, pearls and corals.[49]

The merchants who returned to their country with valuable goods sometimes practised fraud in order to avoid payment of the royal taxes. The *Rāyapaseniya* refers to the traders in *aṅka* jewel, conch-shells or ivory, who did not take the regular highway but always took to the more difficult routes in order to escape the taxes.[50] We hear of the king of Bennāyaḍa who detected the trick of a deceitful merchant and put him under arrest.[51]

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29 *Āva Ṭī* (Hari), p 307
30 *Ācā Ṭī* II 5, p 361 a.
31 *Bṛh Bhā Vṛ* 3 3884.
32 *Vya.* 7 32
33 *Anu Sū* 37, p. 30
34 *Nisī cū.* 7, p 467
35 *ibid*
36 *Ācā. cū* p 364, *Ācā. Ṭī* II, 1, p 361a
37 *Ācā. cū* 363
38 *Bṛh Bhā* 2 3662.
39 *ibid. Vṛ* 3 3824.
40 *ibid* 3 3914.
41 *Nāyā,* 17, p 203.
42 *ibid*, p 202 ff
43 *Uttarā Sū* 11·16.
44 *Uttarā Ṭī* p 141.
45 *Das cū* 6 p 213.
46 *Tandula Ṭī* p 26 a.
47 *Jīvā* 3 p 355
48 *Uttarā Ṭī* 18, 252 a.
49 *ibid*, 3, p 64 a.
50 *Sū.* 164
51 *Uttarā. Ṭī. op. cit*

The other saleable commodities were various musical instruments such as *vīṇā*, *vallakī*, *bhāmarī*, *kaccahabhī*, *bhambhā*, *ṣaḍbhrāmarī* ; wooden toys (*kaṭṭhakamma*), models of clay etc. (*potthakamma*), pictures (*citta*), dolls etc. made of plasters (*leppa*), wreaths etc. which were prepared by stringing (*ganthima*), dolls etc. which were prepared by plaiting (*veḍhima*), stuffed dolls (*purima*), cloths etc. which were prepared by intertwining (*sanghāima*) ; fragrant substances such as *koṭṭha tamālapatta*, *coya*, *tagara*, *elā*, *hirevera* (a kind of Andropogon) and others; various kinds of sugar such as *khaṇḍa* (*khānd* in Hindi), molasses (*gula*), sugar (*sakkarā*), *matsyaṇḍikā*, *puṣpottara* and *padmottara*.[52] The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* adds musk (*katthūriyā*), asafoetida (*hingu*), conch-shell and salt.[53]

TRANSPORT

For the growth of trade and commerce, it is essential that there should be fairly developed means of rapid and cheap communication or transport. Kautilya mentions construction of roads for traffic both by land or water.[54] Mention is made of triangular roads (*singhāḍaga*), junction of three roads (*tiga*), of four roads (*caukka*), of many roads (*caccara*), highways (*mahāpaha*), royal roads (*rājamagga*),[55] which might suggest the existence of well constructed roads. Still the conditions of the roads, do not appear to have been satisfactory. They lay through forests and deserts and were beset with many dangers such as excessive rainfall, the fear of robbers, obstruction by rogues, elephants, the obstruction by state, forest conflagration, the bamboo forest, demons, ditches, wild beasts, draught, famine and poisonous trees.[56] We read in the *Avaśyaka cūrni*[57] that in Siṇavalli, around which there was a formidable desert and where there was no water and shade, a caravan suffered due to thirst. Similarly, we are told that some mendicants, who travelled from Kampillapura to Purimatāla, lost their lives due to lack of water.[58] We are told that the people while travelling in the deserts followed the nails (*kīlaka*) that were stuck in the earth in order to indicate the direction[59]. Then the *Avasyaka cūrṇi* gives an account of the merchant Dhanna who journeyed with five hundred waggons loaded with various commodities. The merchant crossed the river Vegavai with great difficulty when one of his bullocks died.[60] The country of Tosali was well-known for fierce she-buffaloes.[61] The country of Koṅkana was full of wild beasts, particularly lions.[62]

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52 *Nāyā* 17, p 203
53 1 3074.
54 *Artha*. p 46
55 *Rāya Sū* 10, also *Bṛh Bhā* 1 2300.
56 See *Nāyā* 15,160, *Bṛh Bhā* 1.3073; *Āva. Tī* (Hari.), p. 384; also *Phala Jātaka* (*I, pp* 270ff) ; *Apannaka Jātaka* (No. 1), I. P. 99 ; *Avadāna sataka*, II, 13, p. 71.
57 p 553 , II, 34.
58 *Ovā*. 39, 178 f.
59 *Sūya Tī*. 1 11, p. 196.
60 p 272.
61 *Ācā cū*. p 247.
62 *Nisī. cū*. Pī., p 90.

In view of these difficulties in those days, traders used to travel in a caravan, as we have seen before. A graphic description of the caravans is given in the Jain texts. The caravans were classified in the following divisions : (i) who carried their goods by carts and waggons (*bhaṇḍī*), (ii) who carried by camels, mules and bullocks (*bahilaga*), (iii) who carried their own loads (*bhāravaha*), (iv) the wandering people who travelled to earn their livelihood and went from place to place (*odariyā*), and (v) the *Kārpāṭika* ascetics (*kappaḍiya*).[63] The caravan engaged with it *anurangā* (*ghaṁsikā*, com.), litters, horses, buffaloes, elephants, bullocks for the purpose of mounting the sick, wounded, boys, and old men, who were unable to walk.[64] The caravan is praised which started with cart loads of *dantikka* (*modaka, maṇḍaka* and *aśokavartin* etc. com.), wheat (*gora*), sesamum, seeds, molasses and *ghee* etc. because in unforseen calamities such as rain and flood food was available to the members of the caravan.[65]

The proper means of transport was the cart or waggon (*sagaḍisāgaḍa*). The merchant Ānanda had five hundred carts for distant traffic (*disāyatta*) and the same number for local use (*saṁvahaṇiya*).[66] Coach-houses (*jāṇasālā*) are mentioned The coachmen used to look after the carts and vehicles, they cleaned them and decorated with ornaments before plying. The carts were drawn by oxen in charge of drivers (*paoadhara*) and were furnished with goads (*paodalatthi*).[67] The oxen are described as having sharp horns furnished with bells, cords made of cotton (*suttarajju*) inlaid with gold, bridle (*paggaha*), and the crest of blue lotuses.[68] Branding or castrating of bulls (*nillañchaṇakamma*) was in vogue.[69] Goods were carried by waggons, horses, boats and ships.[70]

Among richer style of cars there was *raha*, which was drawn by horses. Chariots driven by four horses are mentioned.[71] Litters or *sivikās* or *sandamāṇīs* were used by the royalty and the wealthy. The state litters bore special names.[72] The litter known as *jugga* was used in the country of Lāṭa ;[73] it measured two hands and was equipped with railings. *Dagaṇa*[74] is mentioned as another vehicle.

The great rivers furnished another means of communication and some facilities of transport. There were fording places and the streams and water courses were crossed by means of boats, which are denoted by the

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63 *Bṛh. Bhā* 1 3066 ff
64 *ibid* 1 3071
65 *ibid* 3072 , also see 3075 ff
66 *Uvā* 1, p 7
67 *Ovā Sū*. 30, p 120 The *Rāmāyaṇa* III , 35 4 also mentions *yānaśālā*.
68 *Nāyā*. 3, p. 60
69 *Uvā*. 1, p 11.
70 *Bṛh. Bhā* 1 1090.
71 *Āva cū* , p 188.
72 *Uttarā Tī*. 23, p 292 ; *Kalpa sū* 5 113.
73 *Bhag Tī* 3. 4, *Yugya* is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 89 16.
74 *Bṛh. Bhā*. 1·3171.

words *nāvā, agatthiyā*[75] *antarandakagoliyā* (canoes), *koñcavīraga*[76] and the boats having the shape of an elephant's trunk[77] and leather bag (*daiya*, com. *drti*) and goat skin.[78]

The maritime transport also seems to have been quite developed, though the sea-voyages were full of dangers. We hear of a ship (*pavahaṇa*) of certain merchants bound for Vibhaya which rambled in the sea for six months.[79] The ship-wrecks were most common. There were serious disturbances from the goblins and terrible cyclones (*kāliyavāya*) when the life of the traders was put in great danger. We read in the *Nāyādhammakahā* how the two merchant's sons, after their vessel was wrecked, reached Rayaṇadīva with the help of a piece of plank (*phalagakhaṇḍa*)[80]

The *Nāyādhammakahā* gives a beautiful description of a sea-voyage. Arhannaga and other merchants of Campā loaded their boats with fourfold merchandise, offered flowers and *bali* (offerings) to gods, worshipped the sea-winds, raised the white flags on the mast, stretched the oars (*valayabāhā*), noticed good omens, secured the passport and amidst the beating of drums boarded the boat. The friends and relatives who had gathered on the port bade them goodbye and wished them a speedy return and success in their enterprise with eyes full of tears. The ropes were released and the merchants proceeded on their journey.[81]

Then we come across another description of a ship-wreck when the vessel tossed in the sea due to a terrible cyclone. The sailors and crew were puzzled, forgot the right direction and did not know what to do. Everybody felt very sad and all began to propitiate various deities, such as *Indra, Skanda*, etc. losing all hope of life.[82]

The sea-going vessel is denoted by the words, *poya*, *poyavahaṇa*, *vahana* or *pavahana*. We learn that the two daughters of king Paṇdusena of Pāndu Mahurā arrived at Surattha by the ship *vārivasabha*.[83] The ships made their onward journey by the force of wind (*pavaṇabalasamāhaya*); they were fitted with oars and rudders (*valayabāhā*), sails and anchors ,[84] the pilot on board (*nijjāmaya*) piloted the ship. The other workers on the ship were boatsmen (*kucchidhāraya*), helmsmen (*kaṇṇadhāra*) and crew (*gabbhijja*). To obtain a passport (*rāyavarasāsana*) was necessary.[85] The

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75 Cf *Ekthas*, they came from Nepal and carried 40 to 50 maunds of grain (F. Buchanan, *An account of Bihar and Patna in* 1811-27, p 705).

76 *Brh Bhā* 1, 2397.

77 *Mahā. Nī*, 41, 35 ; *Gaccha, Vr.* p. 50 a ff.

78 *Pinda* 42 ; *Sūya.* 1·11, p. 196.

79 *Uttarā Ṭī.* 18, p. 262 a

80 9, p. 123.

81 8, p. 97 ff ; also cf. *Avadāna sataka*, III, 3, p. 199. The *Divyāvadāna* (XVIII, p 229) mentions the following dangers of the sea · dangers from whale, waves, tortoise, danger of destruction on land, or loss in the water, danger of being struck by submarine rocks, danger from a *kālikāvāta* or cyclone and from pirates.

82 *Nāyā* 17, p. 201.

83 *Āva cū* II, 197.

84 *Nāyā.*, 8, 98 , the *Ācā.* (II 3·1. 342) mentions the following nautical instruments. *ālitta, pidhaya, vamsa, balaya, avaluya* and *rajju*. For the qualities of the anchor (*nāvālakanaka*), mast (*kūpa*), pilot (*niyāmaka*) and sailor (*kammakara*) see also *Milinda-pañha*, p. 377 f.

85 *Nāyā.* 8, p. 98.

merchants proceeded on their journey after having their breakfast (*pāyarāsehim*) halting at various places.[86] They visited the king with presents who made them free from taxes giving a suitable place for their residence.[87]

THE SYSTEM OF TRANSACTION

Every village had its own resident traders and buying and selling was done directly, i.e. between the producer and the consumer, probably in individual shops or open market place and the surplus, if any, was dispatched to trade-centres in other parts of the country.

We are told that Campā contained markets (*vivaṇi*) thronged with craftsmen.[88] A number of shops are mentioned where various articles were sold. In *kammantasālā* razors and other instruments were sharpened.[89] Taverns and oil shops were common. In *goliyasālā* jaggery was sold.[90] Then there were *goṇiyasālās*, *dosiyasālās* and *sotthiyasālās*, where cows, garments and cotton were sold;[91] *puṭabhedana* was known as the emporium where the packages of saffron and other articles were opened.[92] The *Bṛhatkalpa sūtra* refers to a house (*āvanagiha*) which was surrounded by shops; another house (*antarāvana*) is mentioned which was situated with marketing lanes on one side or both sides.[93]

Betting (*paṇiyaya*) was also known.[94]

PRICE

There were no fixed prices. Supply was hampered by slow transport, individual production, and primitive machinery. Adulteration (*paḍirūvagavavahāra*)[95] and knavery were known.[96]

CURRENCY

Prices were fixed in terms of money which was the chief medium of exchange in India from very early times.[97]

Various coins are mentioned in our texts; the goldsmiths (*heranniya*) could detect false coins (*rūvaya*) in the darkness.[98]

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86 *ibid*, 15, p. 160.
87 *ibid*, 8, p. 102.
88 *Ovā. Sū.* 1.
89 *Nisī cū.* 8, p. 494.
90 *ibid.*
91 *ibid.*
92 *Bṛh. Bhā* 1. 1093, also mentioned in *Parmatthadipikā*, the Com. on the *Udāna*, p 422; also *Mahābhārata* (I. 107·12).
93 1·12, see also *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1·2301-2308.
94 *Āva. cū.* p. 523.
95 *Uvā.* 1, p. 10.
96 *Uttarā Ṭī* 4, p 81 a; also cf. *Āva. cu*, p 117.
97 See R D. Bhandarkar's *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp 167 ff.
98 *Āva. Ṭī.* (Hari.), 947, p. 126a, also see *Sammoha Vinodinī* (p. 91 f).

We meet with an expression in which the words *hiraṇṇa* and *suvaṇṇa* are associated together.[99] *Suvanna* is also mentioned separately.[100] Still smaller denomination of gold coins was *suvaṇṇamāsaya*[101]

Another class of coin was called *kāhāvaṇa*.[102] A false (*kūḍa*) *kāhavana* is mentioned.[103] *Māsa, addhamāsa* and *rūvaga* are mentioned as other coins.[104] False *rūvagas* were known.[105] *Pannika*[106] *and pāyanka*[107] were the other coins in use.

Then the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* and its commentary mention various coins. The cowrie shells (*kavaḍḍaga*) were most ordinary coins ; among copper coins *kākini*[108] was perhaps the smallest coin of the day which was in currency in Dakkhināvaha ; among silver coins *dramma*[109] is mentioned which was current in Bhillamāla ; among golden coins *dīnara*.[110] or *kevaḍika* is mentioned which was current in Pūrvadesa. It is stated that two *sābharakas*[111] of Dvīpa were equivalent to one rupee (*rūpaka*) of Uttarāpatha, and two of Uttarāpatha coins were equivalent to one of Pātaliputra ; or two rupees of Dakṣiṇāpatha were equivalent to one *nelaa* of Kāñcīpurī and two of Kāñcīpurī to one of Kusumanagara (Pāṭaliputra).[112]

PURCHASING POWER

We do not much know about the purchasing power of money or the prices of ordinary commodities in those days. We are told that a

99 *Uvā*. 1 p. 6 According to Bhandarkar, when *Suvanna* is associated with *hiranya*, it must stand not for gold, but a 'type of gold coins,' *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 51.

100 *Āva cū*. p 39, *Āva Ṭi*. (Hari), p 64 a

101 *Uttarā* 8, p 124 A *suvannamāsaka* was a gold coin equal to one *māsa* in weight according to the standard of gold coinage, Bhandarkar, *op cit* , p. 53.

102 *Uttarā Ti* 7, p 118, the *kāhāpana* in use in Rājagaha during Bimbasāra's time was the standard of money adapted by the Buddha in the formation of those rules into which the matter of money entered (*Samantapāsādikā*, ii, p 297). The *kāhāpāna* appears to have been of three varieties, according as it was of gold, silver and copper , Bhandarkar, *op cit* p 81 , also cf. p. 96 *Kāhāpana* was a square coin weighing about 146 grains, and guaranteed as to weight and fitness by punch-marks made by private individuals Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p 100

103 *Uttarā Sū* 20. 42 Also see Charandas Chatterjee's article on some Numismatic Data in Pali literature, *Buddhistic studies*, pp 383 ff

104 *Sūya* II, 2 p 327a , *Uttarā Sū*. 8 17 , *māsaka* and *addhamāsaka* are also mentioned in the *Jātaka* (I, p 120, III, p. 448). The *lohamāsaka, dārumāsaka and jatumāska* are mentioned in the *Paramatthajotikā* I p. 37, the com. on the *Khuddakapātha*.

105 *Āva. cū* p 550

106 *Vya. Bhā*. 3 267-8 According to Kātyāyana, *māsha* also known as *pana* was one-twentieth part of *kārshāpana* (Bhandarkar *op. cit.*, p. 188)

107 *Āva Ṭī*. (Hari.), p 432.

108 *Uttarā Ṭī*. 7. 11, p. 118. It was a coper coin equal to ¼ of a copper *kārsāpana*. Also see *Artha*. p. 95.

109 In the *Nisī cū* , (p 616) the variant is '*cammalāto*'. The *carma* or leather coin is also referred to in the *Bhavabhāvanā*, pt II (p 378) of Maladhāri Hemacandra, Bhavanagar, 1938, where it is stated to have been current in the time of the Nandas. *Dramma* is traced to the greek *Drachma*. The Greeks ruled over north-west India from 200 B. C. to 200 A. D.

110 *Dīnāra* was an Indian gold coin adapted from the Roman denarius during the Kushāna rule in the first century A. D (Bhandarkar's, *op. cit.*, p. 67).

111 According to Dr Motichand, they were pre-Islamic coins known as Sabean coins.

112 *Bṛh. Bhā*. 1. 1969 ; 3. 3891 f.

partridge could be bought for one *kāhāvana*[113] and a cow for fifty coins;[114] the price of a blanket varied from eighteen *rūpakas* to a hundred thousand *rūpakas*.[115]

CREDIT

There were no banks in those days and a great deal of wealth was hoarded in the form of gold etc. and hidden underground (*nihānapautti*).[116] People also deposited money with their friends, but it was not very safe. Appropriation of deposits (*nāsāvahāra*) was known.[117]

Loans and debts could be taken. Money-lending was looked upon as an honest calling. We have referred to the money-lender Ānanda of Vāṇiyagāma. Of substitutes of money, letters of credit were known. False documents (*kūḍaleha*) are mentioned.[118]

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Five kinds of weights and measurements are mentioned: *māna, ummāna, avamāṇa, ganima* and *paḍimāna*. *Māna* is of two kinds for weighing grains and liquids *Asati, prasṛti, setikā, kuḍava*,[119] *prastha, ādhaka, drona* and *kumbha*[120] were used for weighing grains and *māṇikā* for liquids. *Aguru, tagara, coya*, etc. were weighed by *karsa, pala, tulā and bhāra* which is called *ummāna*.

In *avamāna* we have *hasta, danda, dhanuska, yuga, nālikā, aksa*, and *muśala*, which were used for measuring wells, brick house, wood, mat, cloth and moats, etc. In *ganima* or counting we have numbers from one to one crore. In *paḍimāṇa* there were *guñjā, kākaṇi, nispāva, karmamāṣaka, mandalaka* and *suvarna*, which were used for weighing gold, silver, jewels, pearls, conch-shells and corals etc.[121]

Among measures of distance we have *angula, vitasti, ratni, kuksī, dhanus, and gavyūta*. Among measures of length we have *paramānu, trasarenu, ratharenu, bālāgra, liksā, yūkā* and *yava*[122]

Among measures of time we have *samaya, āvalikā, svāsa, ucchvāsa, stoka, lava, muhūrta, ahorātra, paksa, māsa, rtu, ayana, samvatsara, yuga, varsaśata* (century) etc. reaching upto *sīrsaprahelikā*[123]

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113 *Das. cū* p. 58.
114 *Āva cū*, p 117
115 *Brh Bhā* 3 3890
116 *Uvā*, p 6
117 *Āvā Ti* (Hari) p 820
118 *ibid*, *Uvā* p 10
119 For *drona, adhaka, prastha* and *kudumba* see *Arthaśāstra*, p. 116.
120 *Kumbha* is mentioned in the *Sammohavinodinī*, p. 256.
121 *Anu sū* 132
122 *ibid* 133; cf also *Arthaśāstra*, p. 117
123 *ibid*, 114.

Time was measured by *nālikā* or the shadow of a gnomon (*sankucchāyā*).[124]

Tulā (balance) is mentioned. Wrong weights and measures (*kūḍatulla*, *kūḍamāṇa*) were in use.[125]

124 *Das cū.* 1, p. 44 ; *Bṛh. Bhā* Pī. 261. According to the *Arthasāstra* (p 119) *nālikā* is the time during which one *ādhaka* of water passes out of a pot though an aperture of the same diameter as that of a wire of four *aṅgulas* in length and made of four *māshas* of gold

125 *Uvā* 1, p 10.

CHAPTER IV

CONSUMPTION

Consumption of wealth means the use of wealth for the satisfaction of various wants and desires. Production is the means while consumption is the end of all economic activity. Consumption is determined by the standard of life fixed by a particular person or society for himself or itself.

Articles of consumption may be divided into necessaries, comforts and luxuries.

FOOD

The primary wants of life are those of food, clothing and shelter. As the country was largely agricultural there was ample supply of food. Of course, the food that the average man could afford was not sufficiently rich. Four kinds of food are mentioned : food (*asana*), drink (*pāna*), eatable (*khāima*) and relishable (*sāima*).[1] The articles of food were milk, curds, butter, *ghee*, oil, honey, wine, molasses, meat, cooked or dressed food (*ogā'imaga*, com. *pakvānna*),[2] *sakkuli* (*luchis* in Hindi), raw sugar (*phāniya*), a meal of parched wheat (*pūya*) and a meal of curds and sugar with spices (*siharinī*).[3] The production of salt was very important. Several varieties of salt are mentioned, *viz.* sochal salt (*sovaccala*), rock salt (*sindhava*), ordinary salt (*lona*), mine salt (*roma*), sea salt (*samudda*), earth salt(*pamsukhāra*) and black salt (*kālālona*).[4]

Besides, *odana* (rice), *kummāsa* (bean) and *sattuga* (fried barley) are mentioned.[5] The following consisted of eighteen kinds of seasoned food (*vyañjaṇa*) : *sūpa* (soup), *odana* (rice), *java* (boiled barley), three kinds of meat, cow-milk, *jūsa* (water of boiled pulse), *bhakkha* (*khandakhādya* or sweets in which candy was used in plenty, com.), *gulalāvaṇiyā* (*gol pāpaḍi* in Gujerati), *mūlaphala* (bread-fruit), *hariyaga* (cumin), *sāga* (vegetable), *rasālu* (*majjika*, a royal preparation made of the mixture of two *palas* of *ghee*, one *pala* of honey, half an *āḍhaka* of curds, twenty pepper corns and ten *palas* of candied sugar, com.), *pāna* (wine), *pāniya* (water), *pānaga* (a drink made of grapes) and *sāga* (a preparation seasoned with butter-milk such as *dahibadā*, etc., com.). These articles were prepared in a cooking pot (*thālipāgasuddha*) and were offered to the parents, master and religious teacher[6]

Among other preparations mention is made of *pejja* (made of gruel or decoction of some kind of pulse or rice), *ghayapunna* (*ghevara* in Hindi), *pālangamāhuraya* (a sweet liquid preparation of the mango or lemon-

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1 *Nāyā.* 7, p. 84.
2 *Āva. cū* II, p 319.
3 *Ācā. II*, 1. 4 247 ; also *Bṛh Bhā* 2 3175ff, cf. *Mahābhā.* VII 64, 7f.
4 *Das. sū* 3 8 , also see *Caraka*, ch 27, p 815 ff.
5 *Āva. cū.* II., p 317.
6 *Ṭhā.* 3·135 , also see *Caraka*, krtānnavarga, ch. 27, p. 800 ff.

juice),[7] *sīhakesara*[8] (a sweet), *moraṇḍaka* (a sweet made of oil seed)[9], *maṇḍaka*, a cake stuffed with molasses and *ghee*.[10] Then *āhadıyā* was a special sweet coming from one house to another as present.[11] *Pulāka* was a special dish.[12] Then we had *guliyā* or tablets made from the powder of the *tubara* tree which were used by the *sādhus*. The *kholās* were dried pieces of cloths moistened with milk ; these were washed and this water was used for drinking purposes.[13]

Cooking is mentioned.[14] Cooks (*mahānasıya*) were employed by the rich and the kings. They prepared various kinds of dishes.[15] Cooks are included among nine *nārus*.[16] Vegetables were cooked in oil (*neha*).[17] To make arrangements for vegetable and *ghee* in the kitchen was known as *āvāpa* and the discussion whether food is cooked or uncooked as *nırvāpa*.[18] The place of dining was besmeared with grass and lotuses and flowers were strewn ; then pots were arranged and people had their meals.[19] *Mahānasasālā* is mentioned as a free food distributing kitchen in which food was distributed free to ascetics, monks and the poor.[20]

WINE

Wine and meat were considered amongst luxurious foods. Drinking wine seems to have been very common in early society. According to *Kautılya*, on the occasions of festivals, fairs and pilgrimage, right of manufacturing of liquor for four days was allowed.[21] There are references in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[22] and *Mahābhārata* (I·77·13 ff, I·174·13 ff; I·177·10 f ; II·4·8 f) which go to prove that wine was extensively used and was held in considerable estimation as a favourite drink[23]. As we have seen, wine and meat are included among eighteen kinds of food mentioned in Jain texts.

Liquor was manufactured or consumed on a large scale. Taverns (*pāṇāgāra*: *kappasālā*) are known where various kinds of wine was sold.[24] The profession of a *rasavāṇıjja* is mentioned which dealt in wine.[25] Flags on

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7 *Uvā* 1. p 8.
8 *Anta*. p. 10
9 *Brh. Bhā* 1. 3281.
10 *Nısī. cū* II, p 695.
11 *Brh. Sū* 2 17 ; Bhā. 2 3616.
12 *ibid* 5 6048 ff
13 *Brh. Bhā* 1·2882. 2892.
14 *Nāyā* 7, p. 88.
15 *Vivā* 8, p. 46.
16 *Jambu Ṭı* 3, p. 193.
17 *Nāyā* 16, 162.
18 *Ṭhā* 4 282.
19 *Nısī cū*. Pl p 46.
20 *ibid*. 9, p 511 , *Nāyā* 13. p 143.
21 *Arthaśāstra*, p 134, also cf *Dhammapada* A. III, p. 100.
22 II 91, 51 , V. 36. 41 ; VII 42 21 f.
23 R. L. Mitra, *Indo-Aryan*, Vol I, pp 396 ff.
24 *Nısī cū* I 9, p. 511 , *Vya. Bhā*. 10·485.
25 Supra, p. 106.

the wine shops are referred to.[26] We read in the *Nāyādhammakahā* that when kings and princes attended the *sayamvara* ceremony of Dovaī, king Duvaya entertained them with various wines and liquors such as *surā*, *majja*, *sīdhu*, *pasannā* and meat.[27] The princes of Bāravai were addicted to wine and the wine known as *kāyambarī*[28] is said to have been the cause of destruction of the capital[29]. Even women were sometimes addicted to drink.[30]

In the *Bṛhatkalpa sūtra* the Jain monks and the nuns were not allowed to put up in a residence where jars (*kumbha*) of wine were stored. It should be noted that as a rule the monks were prohibited from drinking wine,[31] but under exceptional circumstances such as sickness (*gelanna*), etc. they were allowed to take it.[32] Wine was also prescribed to achieve good health and brilliancy.[33] The following varieties of wine are mentioned : *candraprabhā*, *maṇiśilākā*, *varasīdhu*, *varavāruṇī*, *āsava*,[34] *madhu*,[35] *meraka*,[36] *riṣṭābhā* or *jambuphalakalikā*, *dugdhajāti*, *prasannā*,[37] *tallaka* (variant *nellaka* or *mellaga*), *śatāu*, *kharjūrasāra*,[38] *mṛdvikāsāra*, *kāpiśāyana*,[39] *supakva* and *ikṣurasa*.[40] Most of these wines were named after their colour ; some were prepared from various fruits ; the wine known as *satāu* had such a quality that even though it was diluted a hundred times it did not lose its true nature.[41]

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26 *Bṛh. Bhā* 2 3539.

27 16, p 179

28 Kādambarī is also mentioned in the Harivamśa (II 41·13). It was distilled from the ripe fruit of the *kadamba* (Nauclea kadamba), which is highly saccharine, but not edible in its natural state (R L Mitra, *op cit* , I, p. 426)

29 *Uttarā Ṭī* 2, p 36a f.

30 *Uā* 8.

31 Cf during the *Pajjusaṇa*, the Jain monks or nuns who were hale and hearty were not allowed to take the following drinks milk, thick sour milk, fresh butter, clarified butter, oil, sugar, honey, liquor and meat (*Kalpa Sū* 9 17)

32 *Bṛh. Bhā* 2 3413, also cf *Nāyā* 5, p 80 f.

33 *Bṛh. Bhā* 5 6035.

34 One hundred *palas* of *kapittha* (Feronia Elephantum), five hundred *palas* of *phāṇita* (sugar) and one *prastha* of honey (*madhu*) forms *āsava* (*Artha*. p 132)

35 The juice of grapes is termed *madhu* (*ibid* p 133 , cf also R L Mitra, *Indo-Aryan*, I, p. 411).

36 A sour gruel or decoction of the bark of *meṣhaśṛngi* (a kind of poison) mixed with jaggery (*guda*) and with the powder of long pepper and black pepper or with the powder of *triphalā* forms *maireya* (*ibid*) It is also called *gauḍi* or rum (R. L *Mitra*, *op cit* , p. 412)

37 Twelve *ādhakas* of flour (*piṣṭha*), five *prasthas* of *kiṇva* (ferment), with the addition of spices (*jātisambhāra*), together with the bark and fruits of *putraka* (a species of a tree) constitutes *prasannā* (*ibid*., p. 132)

38 It was a date liquor , it has ripe dates for its basis, and with it is mixed jack fruit, ginger and the juice of the *soma* vine (R L. Mitra, *Indo-Aryan*, I, p 412)

39 *Kāviśāyana* is also mentioned in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* (2 3408); it was very rare.

40 It has sugarcane for its basis, and black pepper, plums, curds, and salt for adjuncts (R. L. Mitra, *op cit*). For *ariṣṭa*, *pakvarasa* and other varieties of *madya* see *Caraka*, ch. 27, p. 776 ff.

41 *Jambu. sū* 20, p. 99 f , *Jīvā*. 3, pp 264a f, 145a, *Paṇṇa*, 17, p. 364 f. Cf. the queen Cellanā besmeared her hair with wine and went to visit Seṇiya in the prison where it served food for the king, *Āva. cū*. II, p. 171.

Among other varieties are mentioned *goḍi* (rum, also known as *meraka* or *sīdhu*), *piṭṭhi* (made from the rice pastry, etc.)[42], *vaṁsī* (prepared from bamboo shoots) and *phalasurā* (prepared from fruits, such as grapes, dates, etc., also known as *prasannā* or *sovīra*),[43] *tālaphala* (prepared from the palm fruit)[44] and *jāti* (prepared from *jāti* flower).[45]

MEAT-EATING

Like wine-drinking, flesh-eating was also prevalent in those days. Under various occupations we have studied the busy life of the hunters, the fowlers, the butchers and the fishermen who used to supply various kinds of meat and fish from which many kinds of curry and soup were prepared. Meat was prepared by frying (*taliya*), roasting (*bhajjiya*) drying (*parisukka*) and salting (*lavaṇa*) in various ways.[46] Mention has been made of a royal cook who prepared varieties of meat dishes and brought them to the royal table. The *Sūriyapannatti* mentions that by eating flesh of a *cāsaya*, deer, tiger, frog, animals with claws, and water animal in particular constellations, success is achieved.[47] The *sankhaḍīs* or special festivals are mentioned, where a large number of animals were killed and their flesh was served to the guests. It is stated that a monk or nun should not resolve to go to a festival when they knew that they would be served up chiefly with meat or fish or roasted slices of meat or fish.[48]

We learn from the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* that, when Ariṭṭhanemi was going for his marriage, he saw a herd of cattle which was to be slaughtered in order to feed the marriage party. Ariṭṭhanemi, however, felt disgusted and renounced the world.[49] We are told of Revai that her servants used to kill two calves every day from the herds that belonged to her ancestral property and bring to her. This shows that flesh-eating was common in early society.[50]

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42 *Surā* is also called *vāruṇī* or *paiṣṭhī*. It has half boiled rice, barley, black pepper, lemon juice, ginger, and hot water for its ingredients Rice and barley are to be digested in hot water for two days, then boiled, then spiced with the other ingredients, and allowed to ferment thoroughly, and lastly distilled (R. L Mitra, *op. cit* , p 413) *Surā* is mentioned in Vedic literature (See *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p 458). The *Sammoha Vinodinī* (p.381) mentions five kinds of *surā* *piṭṭhisurā*, *pūvasurā*, *odanasurā*, *kiṇṇapakkhittā* and *sambhārasamyuttā*.

43 *Bṛh Bhā* 2 3412

44 *Tāla* or palm liquor is made from ripe palm fruit spiced with *danti* (Croton Ployandrum), and the leaves of the *kakubha* plant (R. L Mitra, *Indo-Aryan*, Vol I, p. 412)

45 *Vivā* 2, p 14

46 *Vivā* 2, p 14; 3. p 22 Other preparation of meat were *sankhandiya*, *vattakhandiya*, *dīhakhaṇḍiya*, *rahassakhandiya*, *himapakka*, *jammapakka*, *vegapakka*, *māruyapakka*, *kāla*, *heranga*, *mahiṭṭha*, etc , *ibid*. p 46.

47 Su 51, p. 151.

48 *Ācā* II, 1·4, 245.

49 22. 14 ff.

50 *Uvā*. 8, p. 63 ; for references to flesh-eating in the Vedic literature, see *Vedic Index*, II, p. 145.

THE JAIN MONKS AND MEAT-EATING

Ordinarily, a Jain whether a layman or a monk, must abstain from flesh eating.[51] We are told of Jinadatta, a *sāvaga's* son who refrained from flesh-eating prescribed by a physician even at the stake of his life. He told his parents that he would enter into the flames of fire and die but would never violate his long-cherished vow by eating flesh.[52] Further we are told of Addayakumāra who condemned flesh-eating in the course of a discussion with the Buddhists and the *Hatthitāvasas*.[53]

But it seems that under extreme distress, as a special rule, the Jains were allowed to take meat.[54] Among the articles of food referred to above, we have seen that wine (*majja*) and meat (*maṁsa*) are mentioned along with rice, milk, curds, etc. as articles of food received by monks in alms. Justifying the mention of *majja* and *maṁsa* in the *Sūtra* the commentator remarks that these should be explained with reference to the *Cheda sūtras*, or perhaps a covetous monk might desire to eat flesh and hence they are included among the articles of food.[55]

Further, the question arose as to what a monk should do if he was offered bony flesh or bony fish. Under such circumstances, it is stated that he should try to avoid bones and should ask for flesh. But if inspite of his request, the giver threw bony flesh in his pot, he must retire to a solitary place and keeping aside the bones and the thorns, should swallow the rest.[56] Here again, the commentator explains that *majja* and *maṁsa* may be accepted as a cure for *lūtā* (a kind of cutaneous disease) etc. at the instance of a good physician.[57]

Besides there were certain countries where people were in the habit of taking meat. In the country of Sindhu, for example, people lived on flesh and so non-vegetarians were not despised in that country.[58] Then there were robber-settlements and solitary villages (*sunnagāma*) where nothing was available to eat except flesh. Under such circumstances a *sādhu*, setting aside the general principle, was allowed to eat flesh as a special case.[59]

In fact, these examples only show that the Jains took a practical view of the question of flesh-eating. In times when no other food was available

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51 Cf that a Buddhist *Bhikkhu* is forbidden to eat flesh of a beast purposely killed for his sake, and the flesh of useful animals as horses, elephants, etc. (*Mahāvagga*, VI, 23. 10, 11), also *Sutta Nipāta*, Āmagandhasutta (II 2). See also Prof. Kosambi's article on Meat-eating in the *Purātattva* (3·4 p. 323 ff).

52 *Āva cū.* II p 202.

53 *Sūya* II, 6 37-42.

54 Cf the story of the five Brāhmanas narrated in the *Brhat-kalpa Bhāsya* (1.1013-16). See also *Bhag* (15) where Mahāvīra is said to have taken the flesh of a pigeon. Also cf. the conduct of the sages Vāmadeva, Bhāradvāja and Visvamitra, who being tormented by hunger ate the flesh of a dog and a cow and saved their lives (*Manu.* X. 106 ff).

55 *Ācā Ti* II 1 4 247

56 *Das Sū* 5 1 73 f, See also *Cūrni*, p. 184, cf. also *Nisi. cū.* (16, p. 1034 ff) where flesh-eating is allowed as a special case

57 *Ācā*, *op cit.*,; also cf 1 9 274.

58 *Brh Bhā.* 1 1239.

59 *ibid* 1. 2906-11; also *Nisi. cū. Pī.*, p. 134.

except meat, Jain monks were advised to take it rather than starve themselves to death. The wandering monks who passed through all sorts of countries and met all sorts of people, most of them having a predilection to meat diet, could not be too punctilious about their diet, and a *via media* had to be found out if they were to preach their religion without the pangs of hunger. They could, however, atone for their sin after performing *prāyaścitta.*

DRESS

After food the most immediate necessity of life is clothing. Cotton clothes were commonly worn. People had a common taste for good clothing, perfumes, garlands and ornaments (*vatthagandhamallālankāra*).[60] Clothes are mentioned among the requisites of a gentleman.[61] Four kinds of garments are mentioned : the garments worn daily, after bath, at the festivals and fairs, and while visiting king or nobles, etc.[62]

People were fond of luxuries and varieties of luxurious cloth are mentioned. The oldest list of textiles is given in the *Ācārānga.*[63] Cloth made from wool (*jangiya* or *jānghika*), *bhanga*[64] (*bhangiya*), hemp (*sāniya*), palm leaves[65] (*pottaga*), linen[66] (*khomiya*) and *tūla* (*tūlakada*). It is stated that a monk or a nun may beg for above mentioned cloths.[67]

The following kinds of cloth were considered as very expensive and a monk or a nun was forbidden to use them ; cloth made from skin,[68] (*āinaga*, com *ajina*), fine cloth (*sahina*, com. *sūksma*), fine and beautiful cloth (*sahina-kallāna*), cloth made from goat's hair (*āya*)[69], blue cotton (*kāya*),[70] linen (*khomiya*), from the fibres of the *dugulla* plant (*dugulla*),[71] *patta* fibres

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60 Cf *Kalpa Sū* 4 82.

61 *Brh. Bhā.* 1·2557.

62 *ibid Pī.* 644.

63 II. 5 1. 364, 368, , also cf *Milindapañha*, p 267.

64 *Bhāngeya* is also mentioned in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, p 92. It is a kind of cloth made from the fibre of *bhāg* tree still produced in the Kumon district of U P and is known as *bhāgelā* , See Dr Motichand's article in the *Bhārati Vidyā*, Vol I, Pt , 1, p 41

65 According to the commentary on the *Brhatkalpa Bhāsya*, (2 3661), *pottaga* is cotton

66 According to the commentator *khomiya* is cotton. It was very common and was used for making *civara* of the Buddhist Bhikkus, (*Mahāvagga*, VIII 3 1) , also see Girija Prasanna Majumdar's article on Dress in *Indian culture* Vol. I, 1-4, p 196 f

67 The *Brh Kalpa Sū* (2 24) and the *Thā* (5 446) mention *tirīdapatta* in place of *tūlakada* which was made from the bark of the *tirīda* tree Also see *Vinayavastu* of the Mulasarvastivāda, p. 94 According to Monier Williams, however, *tirīda* (Simplocos Racemosa) is a kind of head dress

68 Skin as material for clothing is mentioned in the *Mahāvagga* (V. 10, 6, 8) In those days the skins of lion, tiger, leopard, cow and deer were used for clothing as well as for bedsheet etc.

69 According to the *Nisī cū* (7, p 467), the *āya* cloths were made from the moss tha clung to the goats' hoofs in the country of Tosali, but this seems to be unintelligible

70 According to the *Nisī cū* (*ibid*), the *kāya* cloths were made from *kākajanghā* (Abrus Procatorious) in the country of *Kāka*, which does not seem to be intelligible.

71 *Nisī. cū* (*ibid*) ; but according to Śilānka, *dukūla* cloths were made from the cotton rpoduced in Gauda (Bengal).

(*paṭṭa*),[72] *malaya* fibres (*malaya*), bark-fibres[73] (*panunna* or *pattuṇṇa* in the *Nisi. cū.*), *aṁsuya* cloth (*aṁsuya*), china silk (*cīṇāṁsuya*), coloured cloth[74] (*desarāga*), spotless cloth[75] (*amila*), cloth making rustling noise[76] (*gajjaphala*), cloth as clear as crystal (*phaliya*),[77] "fluffy blanket"[78] (*koyava*), blanket (*kambalaga*) and mantles (*pāvāra*)[79] ; skin cloth such as made from *udra*[80] (*udda*), from *pesa* fur[81] (*pesa*), embroidered with *pesa* fur (*pesala*), made from the skin of black deer (*kanhamigāina*), blue deer (*nīla*), yellow deer (*gora*) ; cloth made from other materials, such as golden cloth (*kanaka*), cloth interwoven with golden tissues (*kanagapatta*),[82] cloth with borders woven with golden tissues[83] (*kanagakānta*), embroidered with golden thread[84] (*kanagakhaciya*), tinsel-printing[85] (*kanagaphusiya*),[86] cloth made from tiger's skin (*vaggha*), panther's skin (*vivaggha*), printed with one pattern such as leaf etc.[87] (*ābharana*), printed with many patterns such as leaf, *candralekhā*, *svastika*, *ghantikā* and *mauktika* etc.[88] (*ābharana-vicitta*).[89]

[72] According to the *Anu Sū.* 37, the *kīṭaja* cloth is of five varieties, viz *paṭṭa*, *malaya aṁsuga*, *cīnāṁsuya* and *kimirāga* (*suvanna* in the *Bṛh Kalpa Bhā* 2 3662) The commentator explains the production of *patta* cloth from the insects that gathered round the flesh stored for the purpose in the jungle , the *malaya* cloth was produced in Malaya country, *aṁsuya* was produced in the country outside China, and *cīnāṁsuya* in China itself According to the commentator of the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* (2 3662) *aṁsuka* is silk manufactured of soft yarn, *cīnāṁśuka* is either cocoon silk or chinese silk, and *suvanna* is golden coloured thread produced by a certain variety of silk worms Silk is referred to in the *Mahābhārata* as *kīṭaja* which was the product of *Cīna* and *Vāhlīka* According to the Mc' Crindle, raw silk was from the interior of Asia and manufactured at Kos If this is true, *Kauseya* garment refers to the town of Kos and not to the cocoons (Dr Motichand, *Bhāratī Vidyā*, I 1 p 46 f)

[73] According to Monier Williams (*Sanskrit Dictionery*), it is Calosanthes Indica *Patrorna* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II 78 54)

[74] *Nisī cū* (ibid)

[75] ibid, but according to Śīlānka, *amila* is camel

[76] *Nisī cū ibid*

[77] *ibid*

[78] It was a luxurious woolen article mentioned in the *Mahāvagga* (VIII. 1 36) According to the commentator of the *Anu Sū* (37), *koyava* was made from the hair of a mouse (*undura*), or a goat (*chāgala*, *Bṛh Bhā Vr* 2 3662), *kotava* is included among the five kinds hairy cloth mentioned in the Jain texts, others being *unna* (made from the sheep wool), *uṭṭiya* (from the camel wool), *miyaloma* (from deer), and *kitta* (mixed with the hair of sheep etc), *Anu op cit* ; *Bṛh. Bhā , op , cit*

[79] *Kambala* or *prāvāra* are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II 71·48)

in the *Taittir*

[81] In the Vedic period the *pesa* was gold- designs The making of such a garment was a regular occupation of women, as is indicated by the word *pesakārī* (*Vedic Index* II, p 22)

[82] *Kanagena jassa pattā katā*, *Nisi cū* (*ibid*)

[83] *antā jassa kanagena katā* (*ibid*)

[84] *Kanagasuttena phulliyā jassa pādiyā* (*ibid*).

[85] The material used in wax-cloth ornamentation is an oleaginous substance (*roghan*) that is thickened with lime and coloured with pigments before being applied In tinsel-printing an adhesive substance is printed over the texture and subsequently dusted with colouring matter In tinsel-printing the designs are printed with blocks At first glue, gum, lac or other adhesive substance is first printed over the fabric and gold leaf, silver leaf, tin foil, mercury amalgam or other colour materials, *Indian Art at Delhi* 1903, pp 267 f, by Sir George Watt,

[86] *Kanagena jassa phullitāu dinnāu, jahā kaddamena uddeddijjati* (*Nisī. cū. ibid*).

[87] *Patṛkādiekābharanena manditā* (*ibid*)

[88] *Patṛkacandalehikasvastikaghanṭikamottikamādihim manditā* (*ibid*).

[89] *Ācā. ibid.* ; *Nisī. cū.* ibid.

The *Bhagavatī* along with *kappāsiya*, *paṭṭa* and *dugulla* mentions the *vaḍaga* cloth, which is explained as *tasar* by the commentator.[90] The *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, which is undoubtedly a later work, mentions the following five varieties of cloth: cloth made from eggs[91] (*aṇḍaga*), cotton stalks (*boṇḍaya*), insects (*kīḍaya*), hair (*vālaya*) and bark (*vāgaya*).

Dūsa or *dūsya* was another variety of cloth. *Devadūsa* (divine *dūsa*) is mentioned. It is stated that Mahāvīra joined the ascetic order wearing it on his left shoulder. Later on, this piece of cloth was estimated costing hundred thousand pieces of money (*sayasahassamollam*).[92] With the *vijayadūsa* is mentioned another variety of cloth which was as white as the conch-shell, *kunda* flower, spray of water and foam of the ocean.[93] The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāsya* mentions five kinds of *dūsya* : *koyava*, *pāvāraga*,[94] clean white cloth like the row of teeth (*dādhiāli*), sacks, elephant-housing, etc. which are woven with coarse yarn (*pūri*) and cloth woven with double yarn (*virali*).[95] The commentary on the *Thānānga* gives *palhavi* or *pallavi* (a cloth thrown on elephant's back) and *navayaa* (woollen sheet) in place of the last two mentioned articles.[96] Another list of the five *dūsyas* is : pillow (*upadhāna*, also known as *bibboyanā*), mattress stuffed with cotton (*tūli*), [97] mattress of the size of a human being (*āliṅganī* or *aliṅgaṇa*), cushions for cheek (*gaṇḍovahāna*) and round cushions (*masūraka*)[98].

We came across various other terms such as couch, bedsheet and cushions. The couch (*sayanijja*) of Tisalā was furnished with the mattress of a man's length (*sāliṅganavattio*), with pillows (*bibboana*) on both sides, it was raised on both sides and hollow in the middle, was extremely soft, was covered with linen and *dukūla* cloth, it contained a well-worked bedsheet (*rayattāna*), and covered with a beautiful red cloth (*rattaṁsuya*) soft to touch like fur, cotton fibres and butter.[99]

Soft towels dyed with fragrant saffron were used to rub the body after bath [100] Then the *Kalpa sūtra* refers to a curtain (*javaniyā*) adorned with different jewels and precious stones, manufactured in a famous town (*varapaṭṭanuggaya*),[101] its soft cloth was covered with hundreds of patterns and decorated with pictures of wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, snakes, *kinnaras*, deer, *sarabhas*, yaks, elephants, shrubs and plants.[102]

90 11. 11

91 According to the commentary (Su 37), it was made from the egg of a swan (*hamsa*), which is unintelligible Perhaps it is same as '*andi*' cloth in Hindi

92 *Ācā cū*, p 268 Cf *Siveyyaka dūsa* in the *Mahāvagga* (VIII 1 29), it was a cloth piece from Sivi costing hundred thousands pieces of money. *Dussayugam* is mentioned in the *Majjhima I* p 215.

93 *Rāya*. 43, p 100

94 See Supra Also cf the explanation given by the commentator.

95 3 3823 f.

96 4 310, p. 222.

97 *Tūlika* (quilts stuffed with cotton wool) is also mentioned in the *Dīgha*, 1, p. 7.

98 *Bṛh Bhā*, *op. cit*

99 *Kalpa* 3. 32 ; *Nāyā*. 1. p. 4.

100 *Ovā Sū* 31, p. 122.

101 Brought from a noble workshop (*Anta*. trans. by Barnett, p. 22).

102 4·63.

The *celacilimilī* is described another curtain for the use of the Jain monks[103]. It is divided into four classes : made from yarn (*suttamaī*), made from strings (*rajjumaī*), made from bark-strips (*vāgamaī*), made from sticks (*daṇḍamaī*) and made from bamboo-sticks (*kaḍagamaī*). These curtains were five hands in length and three in width.[104]

Then *bhoyaḍā* or an underwear was worn in Mahārāṣṭra by girls from their childhood. They continued wearing it till they married and conceived. Then the relations were invited and *bhoyaḍā* was removed following a ceremony. *Bhoyaḍā* was known as *kaccha* in the country of *Lāṭa* [105]

About the dress we hear of new (*ahaya*) and costly (*sumahaggaha*) clothes.[106] We read that Mahāvīra was clad in a pair of robes (*paṭṭa-juyala*) so light that the smallest breath would carry them away, they were manufactured in a famous city, praised by clever artists, soft as the fume of horses, embroidered with golden thread by skilful artists and ornamented with designs of flemingoes (*hamsalakkhaṇa*).[107]

People wore two pieces of cloth, the upper garment and the lower garment. The former (*uttarijja*) is described as beautiful with swinging pearl pendants ; it was one piece of cloth (*egasāḍiya*).[108] Sewing was known. The needle and thread (*suisuttaga*)[109] are mentioned. The monks were allowed to sew the pieces of cloth.[110]

THE JAIN MONKS AND THEIR DRESS

As we have seen Pārśvanātha allowed an under and upper garment (*santaruttara*) for the ascetics.[111] A monk was allowed to wear three robes,[112] two linen (*ksaumika*) under garments (*omacela*) and one woolen (*aurṇika*) upper garment.[113] The monks who could not go about naked were permitted to wear *kaṭibandha* (also called *aggoyara*) in order to cover their privities This piece of cloth was four fingers broad and one hand long.[114] Later on it was replaced by *colapaṭṭaka*. Like the Buddhists dyed garments were prohibited to the Jain monks as well as we have seen before. The Jain monks also were prohibited from wearing the garments with fringes (*dasā*). It is ordained that they should put on undivided garment in the country of Thūṇā, but its fringes must be removed.[115]

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103 *Bṛh sū* I 18 , cf *cilimilā* in the *Cullavagga*, VI 2 6.
104 *Bṛh Bhā* 1. 2374 f , also 3. 4804 4811, 4815, 4817.
105 *Nisī cū Pī* , *p* 46.
106 *Ovā Sū* 31, p 122
107 *Ācā* II, 2 15, p 390. Also *Rāmāyaṇa* I. 73 31.
108 *Ovā*. p 45
109 *Sūya* 4 2.12
110 *Ācā* II 5 1 364
111 *Uttarā* 23. 29 , also mentioned in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvâstivāda, p. 94.
112 Buddha also allowed three robes a double waist cloth (*samghāta*), single upper robe (*uttarâsanga*) and a single upper garment (*antaravāsaka*), *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 13 4, 5.
113 *Ācā* 7, 4 208
114 *ibid* 7 6. 220.
115 *Bṛh. Bhā*. 3·3905 f, *channadasa* and *dirghadaśa* are also mentioned in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mulasarvāstivāda, p 95.

The *Nigganthinīs* were allowed to use the following clothes: *uggahanantaga*, which was used to cover their privities, it was like a boat in shape, broad in the middle and thin at the sides, and was made of soft cloth. *Patta* was tied by fasteners and was sufficient to cover the waist; it was four fingers in width. It covered both ends of the *uggahanantaga* and was like a wrestler's tight short (*jānghiyā* in Hindi) The third was *addhoruga*, which was worn over the *uggahanantaga* and *patta* covering the waist; its shape was after the style of the wrestlers and it was firmly tied on both sides over the breasts. The fourth was *calanikā* which covered the knees and was unsewn; it was worn after the manner of the bamboo top dancers. The fifth was *abbhintaraniyamsiṇī*; beginning from the waist it reached half length of the thighs Generally it was worn by the nuns to avoid being seen naked at the time of changing garments and becoming the laughing stock of the people. The sixth was *bahiniyamsinī*, which, beginning from the waist and reaching down the ankles was tied with string to the waist.

Then the following garments were worn in the upper part of the body by the nuns: *kañcuka*, which measured two and half hands (the standard being one's own fore-arm) in length and one in width, and was firmly tied on both sides on the waist and covered the breasts. Another was *ukkacchī* (*aupakaksikī*); it was a garment like *kañcuka*, square in shape on the right side; it measured one and a half hands, and covering the breasts and the back was knotted on the left shoulders The third was *vegacchiyā* (*vaikaksikī*); it was knotted on the right shoulders, otherwise it was like *aupakakṣiki*. The fourth was *sanghāta*; they were four in number; one measured two hands, two three hands, and one four hands. The first was to be worn in the cloister (*pratisraya*), the second and the third out of door, and the last for assemblies (*samavasarana*).[116] The fifth was *khandhakaraṇi* which was like a wrapper fourteen hands in length, square in shape and was worn to save oneself from the strong wind. It covered the shoulder and the body. This was used to dwarf the stature of the beautiful nuns by placing it at the back and trying it with *aupakakṣikī* and *vaikakṣikī*.[117]

Then the shoes of different shapes formed important articles of costume. The *Brhatkalpa Bhāsya* prescribes the use of shoes for the Jain monks, specially when they were on tours, in case of illness, whose feet were tender by nature, in fear of wild animals, those suffering from leprosy, piles or who were short sighted.[118] *Taliya* shoes were fastened to the feet in order to protect one's feet from thorns while travelling in night; with this kind of shoe a monk could travel fast. Usually the monks were allowed to wear single-soled (*egapuḍa*) shoes, but they could also use four-soled

116 The *Ācā* (II. 5 1·364) mentions only four *sanghāṭis*, which shows that at the time of the author of the *Brh. Bhāsya*, there was an increment in the number of wearing articles.

117 *Brh. Bhā* 3 4082-91. and com.; also *Ācā*. II, 5.1.364.

118 *Bṛh. Bhā*. 3. 3862.

ones. The *puḍaga* or *khallaka*[119] shoes were used in winter to cover the foot-sore (*vivacci*). They were of two kinds: *addhakhalla* and *khalla*. The former covered half the feet, while the latter covered the whole. The *vāgurā* covered the toes and also the feet. The *kosagas* covered the toes to save the nails against stone, etc. *Khapusā*[120] covered the ankles and was used as a precaution against cold, snake, snow and thorns. There are mentioned the *ardhajaṅghikā* and *jaṅghikā* shoes which covered half and full thighs respectively.[121]

HOUSE

As food is necessary to sustain life, and clothing to protect body from the inclemency of weather, so shelter is necessary to protect oneself from the rain, the sun and the wind. The art of house-building (*vatthuvijjā*) was considered as one of the seventy two arts in Jain literature. Ordinarily, houses were built of bricks and wood. There were doors, pillars, thresh-holds and bolts,[122] about which we shall see later on. There were lofty mansions for rich and well-to-do people.

LUXURIES

The people were fond of luxuries as we have seen. We find them well-attired, fond of ornaments, wreaths, flowers, perfumes, unguents, etc. Among the requisites of a gentleman mention is made of toilet, ornaments, clothes, garlands, food, perfumes, instrumental music, dancing, drama and singing.[123]

Great care and attention was bestowed on hair dressing and hair cutting by ancient Indians.[124] The *colopaṇa* or the ceremony of tonsure was an important ceremony held at the birth of a child. Great care was taken in hair cutting on the occasion of renunciation ceremony.[125]

We hear of toilet saloons (*alaṅkāriyasabhā*)[126] where a number of attendants performed the toilet of a number of *samaṇas*, *māhaṇas*, orphans, sickly and poor people.[127]

The luxury of the people is evident from the use of the large number of gold, silver, ornaments and jewellery. The kings, princes and the wealthy people went out surrounded by servants and attendants with an

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119 The *khallakabandha* and other shoes are mentioned in the *Mahāvagga* v. 2·3.

120 Perhaps it is the same as the Iranian '*kafis*' and *kāpis-kipis* of central Asia (see Dr. Motichand's article in the *J of the Indian Society of the Or. Art* Vol. XII, 1944).

121 1. 2883, 3.3847.

122 *Rāya. Sū* 98.

123 *Bṛh. Bhā* 1 2557, cf. *sunahātā suvilittā kappitakesamassu āmuttamālābharaṇā* (*Paramatthadīpanī*, the com on the *Udāna*, p 7).

124 The *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* contain frequent notices of the braid, and the neglect of the coiffure as a mark of grief or violent excitement; R. L. Mitra, *op. cit*, vol. I. p. 210 ff.

125 *Nāyā* 1. 29 f

126 *Paramatthadīpanī*, the com. on the *Udāna*, p. 333 refers to *alankārasattha* which dealt with the rules of hair cutting.

127 *Nāyā*. 13, p. 143.

umbrella decorated with garlands of *koranṭā* flowers held over them.[128] They were taken out in a litter in a gorgeous procession accompanied by damsels standing with yak tail in hand or carrying a fan or a pitcher[129] The rich people possessed palatial buildings, married several women, made magnificient donations, paid large fees to courtesans and enjoyed rich festivities.

The middle class people too lived a life of ease, and indulged in charities, and made gifts to the order. The hardest lot was those of poor people who earned their daily wages and with great difficulty could make their both ends meet. The poor labourers often suffered from the hands of money-lenders for whom they had to work as slaves for the non-payment of the debts.

[128] *Anta.* 3, p. 19 ; Ovā. Sū. 27-33
[129] *Nāyā.* 1. p. 30 f.

SECTION IV

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I SOCIAL ORGANISATION

CHAPTER II THE FAMILY

CHAPTER III POSITION OF WOMEN

CHAPTER IV EDUCATION AND LEARNING

CHAPTER V ARTS AND SCIENCES

CHAPTER VI RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

CHAPTER VII MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

INTRODUCTORY

Indian society gives expression to the great principle that life is a long pilgrimage extending beyond death into the infinite and the eternal Let each individual in the society endeavour for his own welfare, but his interests should not run counter to the interests of the society The paths followed by individuals may be separate but the ultimate goal must be the same. "The Greatest Good of the Greatest Number" should be the motto

In the following section we have made an attempt to collect the scattered material depicting the Social Life of ancient Indian people with a view to grasping the ordinary life and activities of the early people

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Caste-system (*vaṇṇa*) was the back-bone of the ancient Indian Society.

THE ĀRYA AND THE ANĀRYA

Jain texts draw a distinction between the *Ārya* and the *Anārya*. According to the Vedic literature the characteristic physical difference between the two races was that of colour. The *Āryans* who were the conquerors were fair-coloured and the aborigines or the non-*Āryans*, who formed the subjugated race, were dark-coloured.[1]

Jain texts divide the *Āryans* into five classes :—*Āryan* by country (*khetta*), birth (*jāti*), family (*kula*), trade (*kamma*), language (*bhāsā*) and art and handicraft (*sippa*).[2]

The twenty five and a half *Āryan* countries will be described later on. Among the *Āryans* by birth we have six respectable castes (*ibbhajāti*) such as *Ambattha*,[3] *Kalinda*, *Videha*, *Vedaga*, *Harita* and *Cuñcuna* (or *Tuntuna*). Among *Āryans* by family there were *Ugga*, *Bhoga*, *Rāinna*, *Ikkhāga*, *Nāta* and *Koravva*. Among *Āryans* by trade we had dealers in cloth (*dosiya*), weavers (*sottiya*), dealers in cotton (*kappāsiya*), dealers in yarn (*suttaveāliya*), grocers (*bhandaveāliya*), potters (*kolāliya*) and carriers of litters (*naravāhaniya*).[4] Among *Āryans* by art and handicraft we had tailors (*tunnāga*), weavers (*tantuvāya*), silk weavers (*pattāgāra*), makers of leather bags for holding water (*deyaḍa*), feather-brush-makers or rope-makers (*varuda*) mat-makers (*chavviya*), wooden sandal-makers (*katthapāuyāra*), grass sandal-makers (*muñjapāuyāra*), umbrella-makers (*chattakāra*), carriage-makers (*vajjhāra = vāhyakāra*), model-makers (*potthāra*), plaster-makers (*leppakāra*), painters (*cittāra*), workers in conch-shell (*sankhāra*), workers in ivory (*dantāra*), braziers (*bhandāra*), *jijjhagāra* (?), spear-makers (*sellagāra*), and workers in cowries (*koḍigāra*).[5]

FOUR CLASSES

Jainism and Buddhism opposed the caste system asserting the social superiority of the Kṣatriyas over the Brāhmanas. Yet it is a mistake to

1 See Senart, *Caste in India*, p 122 f. For various theories of origin *of caste, see Census India, 1931*, Vol I, Pt. I, pp 433 ff

2 *Panna* 1 37.

3 However, it should be noted that *Ambattha* and *Videha* are mentioned as low castes ; see infra.

4 The *Anu Sū* 130, p. 130a adds grass cutters, stick-gatherers and leaf-gatherers, etc , also cf *Milindapañha*, p 331

5 Cf The *Rāmāyana* (II, 83 12 ff) which mentions *manikāra kumbhakāra, sūtrakarmakṛt sastropajīvī, māyūraka krākacika, rocaka, vedhaka, dantakāra, sudhākāra, gandhopajīvī, suvarnakāra, kambaladhāraka, snāpaka, ucchādaka, vaidya, dhūpaka, saundaka, rajaka, tunnavāya, grāmamahattara, ghoṣamahattara, sailūṣa, and kaivartaka.*

suppose that caste-distinctions were abolished during the period of Mahāvīra and Buddha The four classes such as Bambhana, Khattiya, Vaissa and Sudda are mentioned in the Jain Suttas [6] According to the Jain tradition during the time of Usabha those who were state-officers were styled as Khattiyas and those who were landlords and bankers as Gāhāvais Then came into being the Vāniyagas and the Vaissas. Later on during the reign of Bharata came into existence the Bambhanas or Māhanas[7] and then the Suddas Besides these primary *vannas* there were mixed castes formed from the union of different castes.[8]

THE BRAHMAṆAS

In Jain texts the Brāhmanas are held in contempt and are represented as the opponents of the Jain religion Frequently the term *dhijjāi (dhik jāti)* "condemned caste" is used for them contemptuously In Jain *Suttas* as stated above, generally the primary position in society is assigned to the Khattiyas instead of the Bambhanas We have seen that no *Tīrthaṅkara* was born in a family other than the Ksatriyas It is laid down that no great men are ever born in low, miserly, beggarly or in Brahmanical families A legend tells us that before his birth Mahāvīra was removed from the womb of Brāhmanī Devānandā to that of Kṣatriyānī Trisalā.[9]

But it should be noted that though the Jain stories seem to make the position of the Bambhanas inferior to that of the Khattiyas, the Brāhmanas enjoyed a high position in the society. It is stated in the *Nisītha cūrni* that the Brāhmaṇas were gods in heaven, the Prajāpati created them on earth as divine beings and so offering alms to them results in gain of spiritual merit [10] Then the terms *Samana* and *Māhana* frequently occur together in the Jain texts which shows that the homeless ascetics and the

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6 Cf *Uttarā* 25 31 , *Vivā* 5, p 33 , *Ācā Nir* 19 27

7 The Jain texts give a curious explanation of the term *Māhana* It is said that once Bharata invited the Jain monks to partake various kinds of eatables and their being refused, distributed them among the *sāvagas* These *sāvagas* were of simple nature and religious-minded, and whenever they saw anybody killing, they stopped him by saying "do not kill' (*mā hana*) and hence they came to be known as *Māhanas* (*Ācā cū* p 5 also cf *ibid*, p 213 f, *Vasu* p 184)

8 In the line of Manu the following mixed castes are mentioned in the Jain texts Ambattha, Ugga Nisāda, Āugava, Māgadha, Sūta, Khattā, Vaideha and Candāla Then through further combination between mixed castes we have Sovāga, Venava, Bokkasa and Kukkuraa (*Ācā Nir* 21-27 , cf *Manu*. X 6-56 , also *Gautama*, IV 16 ff)

9 *Kalpa* 2 22 Cf a similar view expressed in the *Nidāankathā* (I, p 49) that the Buddhas are born in one or other of the two highest classes the Khattiya or the Brāhmana castes and never in the low caste The Buddhist writers in enumeration of four castes invariably mention the Ksatriyas before the Brāhmanas Cf also *Vājsaneya samhitā* (XXXVIII 19) and *Kathaka* (28 5) where Ksatriyas are stated superior to the Brāhmanas (Majumdar, *op cit* , pp 367 369 , Fick *op cit* , p 84 ff) For a controversy regarding the superiority of castes between Vasistha, a Brāhmana and Visvāmitra a Ksatriya, see Dr. G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, p 63 f.

10 12, p. 865.

Brāhmanas were identical.[11] The pre-eminent position of the Brāhmanas is also evidenced by the fact that Mahāvīra was styled as *Māhaṇa*[12] or *Mahāmāhana*.[13]

JAIN CONCEPTION OF BRĀHMAṆA

Jain writers like those of the Buddhists lay stress on one's deeds rather than one's birth It is said that one does not become a *Samana* by the tonsure, nor a *Brāhmana* by enchanting the sacred syllable '*Om*', nor a *Muni* by living in woods, nor a *Tāvasa* by wearing clothes of *kusa* grass and bark, but one becomes a *Samana* by equanimity of mind, a *Brāhmana* by chastity, a *Muni* by knowledge and a *Tāvasa* by penance In fact, a person's worth in life is determined by virtuous life and not by birth[14] The ridicule of caste system reaches its highest pitch when Hariesa, a *sovāga* by birth, visited a sacrificial enclosure (*jannavāda*) of a *Brāhmana* teacher and preached him that the real fire was penance, the real fire-place was life, the real ladle (*suā*) was right exertion, the real cow-dung was body, the real fire-wood was *kamman*, the real oblation was self-control, right exertion and tranquility, the sacred pond was law and the real bathing-place was celibacy[15] But it is interesting to note that in spite of those caste-denouncing preachings and sermons the Jains could not do away with the time honoured restrictions of caste They drew a line of distinction between high tribes (*jāti-ārya*) and low tribes (*jāti-jungiya*), high trade (*kamma-ārya*) and low trade (*kamma-jungiya*) and high crafts (*sippa-ārya*) and low crafts (*sippa-jungiya*)[16] which we shall see shortly

THEIR PRIVILEGES

Whatever view the Jains may have had about the Brāhmanas, it is certain that generally they were held in respect and esteem by the people as pointed out already We are told that king Bharata fed them daily and distinguished them from others by putting the mark of *kākinī* jewel on their person[17] The kings showed liberality towards them by offering gifts We learn that the Nandas of Pādaliputta gave away wealth

11 Cf *Āva cū* p 93, cf *Samyutta*, Samana Brāhmana Sutta (II p 129 f, 236 f, IV, p 234 f, V, p 1
12 *Sūya* 9 1
13 *Uvā* 7
14 *Uttara* 25 29 ff Cf a similar view of the Buddhist writers Birth and caste cause conceit, virtue is the highest, Khattiya Brāhmana Vessa Sudda Candāla and Pukkasa all become equal in the world of Gods if they have acted virtuously here, *Sutta Nipata* I, 7, III, 9, Fick *op cit* p 29 Majumdar *op cit* pp 354 363
15 *Uttarā* 12 44 f
16 Cf the Buddhists who stood as great champions for the purity of blood by keeping the family pure through marriage confined to the people of one's standing and profession and not to allow it to degenerate through mixture with lower elements (Fick *op cit*, p 52) Cf also Ghurye *op cit* p 66 also see *Sammoha Vinodanī* (p 410) where *kamma* and *sippa* are divided into high and low
17 *Āva. cū.* p. 213 f.

to the Brāhmanas[18] Vararuci, a Brāhmana, received one hundred and eight *dīnāras* every day for reciting the same number of verses in praise of the king[19] Not only kings but other people also gave away charity and paid reverence to the Brāhmanas, whose services they required on various occasions On special occasions such as birth, death-ceremony etc. they were invited to meals.[20]

Besides, the Brāhmanas enjoyed certain other privileges, such as immunity from taxes and capital punishment We have seen as to how a Brāhmana was received by a certain king on his discovery of a treasure-trove whereas a merchant was despised for the same and his property confiscated[21]

STUDY

The Brāhmanas were versed in the fourteen subjects of study (*cauddasa vijjatthāna*), and were generally employed by the king We are told that Kāsava was a state Brāhmana of Kosambī and after his death his place was given to another Brāhmana[22] There were teachers moving in the company of their pupils[23]

SACRIFICE

The practice of sacrifice was very common among the Brāhmanas During his tour Mahāvīra is stated to have spent the rainy season in a sacrificial house (*aggihottavasahī*) of a Brāhmana of Campā[24]

Then we hear of Vijayaghosa who was engaged in performing Brāhmanical sacrifice The monk Jayaghosa approached him for alms and converted him to his faith,[25] after preaching the true sacrifice We have already referred to Ajja Sejjambhava who was engaged in his sacrificial duties when visited by the pupils of Pabhava Besides, the Brāhmanas were employed by the kings for the same purpose Reference has been made to the priest Mahesaradatta who was versed in the four Vedas and who used to perform sacrifice to avert evil against the king[26]

OTHER PROFESSIONS

Another profession in which the Brāhmanas were interested was that of dream-reading (*suvinapādhaga*) and fortune-telling On the birth of a king's child it seems to have been a standing custom to have the future predicted by the Brāhmanas. Signs (*lakkhana*) in the body were interpreted by the Brāhmanas versed in the signs of predicting the future We

18 *Uttarā Tī* 3, p 57
19 *ibid* 2, 27 a
20 *Uttarā Tī* 13, p 194 a
21 See Supra p. 62
22 *Uttarā Tī.* 8, p 123 a
23 *Uttarā Sū* 12 19
24 *Āva cū.* p 320
25 *Uttarā* 25.
26 See Supra p 58.

are told that, when Mahāvīra was born, king Siddhārtha sent for the interpreter of dreams (*suvinalakkhanapādhaya*), versed in the eight divisions of *Mahānimitta* and other sciences, who predicted the future of the child [27] Then we hear of a fortune-teller who prophesied the fall of Indra's thunderbolt on the head of the lord of Poyanapura.[28] People ascertained from the Brāhmaṇas whether a day was good for a journey, when the latter uttered benediction praying for safe journey.[29]

Magic and demon-worship was another profession practised by the Brāhmanas which we shall treat in a separate chapter Medical profession is mentioned as still another profession of the Brāhmanas

THE KHATTIYAS

As we have seen in contrast to the Brāhmanical works which state the Brāhmana superiority, Jain writers like those of the Buddhists claim an undisputable supremacy for the Ksatriyas The Ksatriyas learnt seventy two arts and achieved efficiency in the art of fighting. They acquired the right to rule the country by the strength of their arm A number of Khattiya kings and princes are mentioned who achieved the ideal of *Jina*hood.

THE GĀHĀVAIS

The Gāhāvais[30] or the householders correspond to the traditional Vaisya order of the Hindus of ancient India They were rich, owned land and cattle and belonged to the mercantile class Jain texts mention a number of Gāhāvais who were adherents of Jain faith (*samanovāsaga*), and after taking to the homeless life attained salvation Reference has been made to the householder Ānanda, a rich land-owner of Vāniyagāma, who possessed a large number of cattle, ploughs and carts Pārāsara was another Gāhāvai who was prosperous in agriculture (*kisi*) and hence he was known as Kisipārāsara, he had six hundred ploughs [31] Kuiyanna is described as another Gāhāvai who is said to have possessed a number of herds of kine [32] Then Gosankhī, a *kutumbī*, is mentioned as the lord of the *Ābhiras*, his son used to journey to Campā for trade with the carts loaded with *ghee*[33]. Nanda is mentioned as another influential *setthi* of Rāyagiha.[34]

GUILD CASTES

During the course of our study of the Economic life we have seen the two main trade associations, *viz*, the merchant union and the craft guilds.

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27 *Kalpa Sū* 4 66 ff

28 *Uttarā Ṭī* 18 p 242

29 *Nāya* 8, p 98

30 The Gāhāvais were also known by the terms *Ibbha*, *Setthi* and *Kodambiya*, who were included in the retinue of the king, *Ovā Sū*. 27, cf. Fick, *op cit*, p 250 ff.

31 *Uttarā Ṭī*. 2, p. 45.

32 *Āva cū* p 44.

33 *ibid*, p 297.

34 *Nāya* 16, p. 141.

On account of their traditional organisation they formed certain rules and customs of their own and tended to appear a distinct order in the social organisation.

Besides these organised guilds, there were the manufacturers, the wandering dancers, musicians and tramps who roamed from village to village earning their bread by exhibiting skill We read of a young acrobat who exhibited his performance in the town of Dhannaura[35] Visvakarman is mentioned as another acrobat of Rāyagiha.[36] Then snake-charmers[37] and demonologists[38] are mentioned in the category of itinerant jugglers

Among other corporative unions mention may be made of Mallagana, Hastipālagana[39] and Sārasvatagana [40] We are told that there was great unity among the Mallas , they disposed of the dead body of a forlorn Malla and helped the poor people of their organisation [41] Among religious corporation the organisation of the *Śramanas* may be mentioned Then more settled than these wandering people were the herdsmen the huntsmen, the fishermen, the foresters, grass-cutters and stick-gatherers

THE MLECCHAS

The Milakkhus or Milakkhas are characterised as wicked and cruel-hearted people, who were different from one another in respect of their language, dress and food They did not know the language of the *Āryans* and committed various sins, such as killing of animals etc , and hence they were known as *Anāriyas* The Milakkhas were also styled as *Vivūvas* as they wore different dresses and spoke different dialects They were distinguished as *Paccantiyas*, since they resided on the border of the *Āryan* countries They were also characterised as *Dasu* since they were supposed to bite with their teeth, apparently a fanciful derivation.[42]

THE DESPISED AND THE UNTOUCHABLES

Now we come to the lowest strata of society A Śūdra had a degraded position in the society from very early days Mahāvīra and Buddha tried to improve their lot to a great extent, but it seems they could not do away fully with the caste restrictions as we have seen already The *Uttarādhyayana* commentary mentions Citta and Sambhūya, the two sons of a Mātanga leader of Vārānasī, who led a singing and dancing party during the festival of god of love The high caste people could not tolerate it and they belaboured them with kicks and blows and turned them out of the town[43].

35 *Uttarā Ṭī.* 18 p 250 a.
36 *Pinda Nir* 474 f.
37 *Uttarā Ṭī* 12, p. 174
38 *ibid*
39 *Vya Bhā Ṭī* 7 459
40 *Bṛh. Bhā* 6 6302.
41 *Sūya cū* p. 28 , also see Malalasekara, *op cit* under 'Mallā'.
42 *Nisī cū* 15, p 1110
43 *Uttarā Ṭī* 13, p 185 a , also cf *Citta-Sambhūta Jātaka.*

Then we meet a number of low races in our stories. The *Pānas*, also known as *Cāṇḍālas*, were employed to carry corpses.[44] We read in the *Antagaḍa* that Kanha Vāsudeva asked the *Pānas* to drag the dead body out and throw it[45] away. They also attended the burial ground ; they had no houses of their own and lived outside the villages under the open sky.[46] Then there were the *Dombas*, who sang songs and sold winnowing basket and such other articles Then there were the *Kinikas* who prepared the leather-fittings around the musical instruments and blew them before the criminals carried for execution. To the same category of despised classes belonged the *Sovāgas*, who cooked the flesh of dogs and sold bow-string (*tanti*). The *Varuḍas* earned their bread by making ropes.[47]

LOW PROFESSIONAL CASTES

Besides these despised classes we meet with other groups of people who were despised and isolated from the "civilised" castes of people Amongst them may be mentioned peacock-tamers (*posaga*), barbers (*samvara*), acrobats (*nada*), pole-dancers (*lankha*), hunters (*vāha*), fishermen (*macchandha*), washermen (*rajaya*), fowlers (*vāguriya*) and cobblers (*padakāra*) [48]

44 *Vya Bhā* 2 37
45 4, p 22
46 Cf *Manu* X 50 I
47 *Vya Bhā* 3 92, *Nisī cū* 11, p 747
48 *Vya Bhā* 3 94, *Nisī* 4 p 345, 11, p 747

CHAPTER II

THE FAMILY

I

DOMESTIC LIFE

According to Kautilya, members of the family for whose maintenance the head of the family is responsible include children, wife, mother, father, minor brothers, sisters or widowed girls.[1] The conditions of living in a family were that the members must live in the same abode, partake of the food cooked in the same kitchen, and enjoy the common property.[2] The patriarch was the head and the master of the family and he was obeyed by all the other members His wife was the mistress who looked after the household duties and was obedient to the master.

The *Nāyādhammakahā* tells us the story of a rich merchant who had four sons and four daughters-in-law. The merchant was the master and the sole representative of the family. Once a thought arose in his mind as to who would be able to look after his family after his death So he invited his friends, relations, kinsmen and other family members and put his daughters-in-law to the test in their presence [3]

The father was held in great respect which was equal to that paid to the master and the religious teacher. It is stated that one should apply *sayapāga* and *sahassapāga* oils and other fragrant unguents to the body of the parents, should give them bath and decorate them. They should be served with eighteen kinds of seasoned food, and even if one carried them on one's shoulders one could not repay the debt which one owed to them [4]

The father was viewed like a God in ancient India. We notice sons and daughters coming to the father to touch his feet *(pāyavandava)* every day.[5] We are told of a merchant who was ready to sacrifice his life for the sake of his sons Upon this his eldest son rose and offered himself in his father's place saying that he was like a teacher and God to them and the protector and supporter of the family and hence his life was more precious[6] than that of the rest.

Our stories are full of pathos and happiness which depict the sublime love of a mother towards the child. We are told that when prince Meghakumāra decided to embrace the ascetic life, his mother became unconscious and fell on the ground like a log. She was sprinkled over with water, fanned with a palm-leaf and was consoled by friends Her eyes

[1] *Artha.* p. 47.
[2] Cf. *ibid* p 190.
[3] 7, p. 84 f.
[4] *Thā* 3. 135.
[5] Cf *Nāyā.* 1, 13 , 16, 176
[6] *ibid* 18, p. 213.

filled with tears and in most pathetic words she persuaded her son not to give up the wordly pleasures.[7] Mothers were highly esteemed We hear of king Pūsanandi who had a great devotion towards his mother and used to bathe and eat after she finished her bath and meals

RELATIONS AND FRIENDS

Various relations and friends are mentioned There were friends (*mitta*), kinsmen (*nāi*), members of one's own family (*niyaga*), one's blood relations (*sayaṇa*), connected by marriage (*sambandhī*) and one's dependents (*parijaṇa*).[9]

As the father grew older, the care of the household fell on the shoulders of the eldest son We hear of people retiring from the world after giving the household management to their sons

The relatives and friends etc. were invited at various occasions such as birth, marriage, death and various festivals We are told that when Mahāvīra was born, his parents invited their friends, relations, kinsmen and followers and enjoyed a grand feast in their company [10]

Then we are told of the Brāhmana brothers of Campā who lived with their wives They decided to have their meals together in one another's house by turn.[11]

II

CHILDREN

The children were happy adjuncts of the household. The mothers who gave birth to children, fondled and dandled them on the knee, were considered happy The childless mothers (*nindu*) were taken as unlucky, so they yearned for children and propitiated various deities to obtain them We hear of Devai, the wife of Vasudeva, who considered herself unhappy and unrighteous because she could not have a child for a long time.[12] Bhaddā was another woman who prayed to deities, worshipped them and promised to offer wealth to repair their old shrines provided a son or a daughter was born to her.[13] Mention is made of another woman, Siribhaddā, who used to give birth to still-born children She was told by an astrologer to cook rice-pudding (*pāyasa*) with the blood of a stillborn child and to offer it to a right type of monk (*sutavassī*) so that her children might survive.[14]

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7 *Nāyā* 1, p 23 f, *Uttarā Sū*, 19
8 *Vivā* 9, p 34 f
9 *Nāyā* II, p 51
10 *Kalpa Sū* 5·104
11 *Nāyā* 16, p 162.
12 *Anta* 3, p. 13
13 *Nāyā* 2, p 49, cf. *Avadāna Śataka* I, 3, p. 14.
14 *Āva. cū* p. 288.

The child possessing the entire and complete five sense organs, with the lucky signs, marks and good qualities, well-formed and having full weight and length was considered good.[15]

DREAMS

Dreams played an important part in the birth of a child in the life of ancient Indians.[16] There was a regular science of dreams (*sumiṇasattha*) and books were written on the subject It is considered as one of the eight divisions of *Mahānimitta*[17] The *Bhagavatī* devotes a section on dreams where five kinds of dreams are mentioned. It is stated that if at the end of the dream one beholds a row of horses, elephants or oxen or rides on them, one achieves salvation. Similarly, the dream of ocean, a big rope, yarn of various colours, a heap of iron, copper, lead, silver, gold, a pile of wood, leaves, skin, straw, husk, ashes and dust, various kinds of grass such as *śarastambha* etc , the jar of milk, curds, *ghee*, honey, wine, oil and fat, a big lotus pond, jewelled palace and jewelled aerial car leads to salvation.[18]

Then by seeing decorated articles, horse, elephant and a white bull in dream one gets fame, and one who having passed urine or red stool in dream wakes up, loses wealth.[19]

Lord Mahāvīra is said to have beheld the following ten dreams before attaining omniscience · defeating of a fierce demon, a white male cuckoo, a variegated male cuckoo, a pair of garland, a herd of cow, lotus pond, crossing of a big ocean by swimming, the shining sun, encircling the Mānuṣottara mountain from all sides, and climbing up the Meru.[20] The *thera* Bambhagutta is said to have seen in dream that his bowl filled with milk was emptied by a stranger which indicated the arrival of someone to study the sacred lore from him.[21]

In Jain texts usually a mother before conception beholds certain dreams. We learn that at the time of the conception of Mahāvīra his mother had fourteen great dreams in which she saw an elephant, a bull, a lion, the besprinkling of goddess *Srī*, a garland, the moon, the sun, a banner, a jar, a lotus-pool, the sea, the celestial palace, a heap of jewels

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15 *Kalpa sū* 1 8

16 In the *Mahāsupina Jātaka* (I, 77), p 344 king Pasenadi makes an offering in order to prevent the effect of evil dreams The king had sixteen dreams in one night In the morning when he enquired, the Brāhmanas said that great dangers were threatened either to his kingdom, his treasures or his life

17 *Uttarā. sū* 15 7

18 16. 6.

19 *Uttarā* 8 13 com. by Śāntisūri The commentator Nemicandra quotes some Prākrt verses on the interpretation of dreams, which shows the existence of literature on dreams in Prākrt Some of these verses find parallelism in Jagaddeva's *Svapnacintāmaṇi* edited by Dr. Negelein (Charpentier, *Uttarā* , notes, p 310 f)

20 *Bhag*. 16·6 *Āva cū* p 274,

21 *ibid*. p. 394,

and fire [22] The *Nāyādhammakahā* gives a similar description of Dharini's dreams; she saw a big elephant passing into her mouth during the night of her conception.[23]

PERIOD OF PREGNANCY

Then we come to the period of pregnancy which is very delicate for women During this period the women are asked to be very careful while standing, sitting, sleeping and taking meals which should be neither too cold nor too hot, nor too acrid, pungent, sour or sweet but good and nutritious for the safety of the unborn babe They should avoid sickness, sorrow and terror and being moderate in the use of clothing, perfumes and garlands, should comfortably carry the unborn babe [24]

During the period of pregnancy, *dohada* or pregnancy longing played an important part in ancient India When two or three months of pregnancy had passed, the women had peculiar cravings. We are told that in the third month of her pregnancy, Dhāriṇī had a pregnancy longing to roam about in the outskirts of Vebhāra in the monsoon riding on an elephant When the longing of the queen was not fulfilled she became sick, emaciated, unhappy and lost all her beauty This was brought to the notice of the king who saw Dhāriṇī immediately and asked her the reason of her sadness. Later on, Abhayakumāra satisfied the pregnancy longing of his step-mother [25] Queen Satyavatī was another woman who had a pregnancy desire to play in an ivory palace [26] The *Uttarādhyayana* commentary refers to another craving of "drinking the moon" (*candapiyana*) [27]

The desire to eat meat to fulfil the pregnancy longing seems to be very common. We are told of a woman who had a pregnancy longing to relish various kinds of wine and flesh of various cattle [28] We know of Cellanā, who had a chronic longing to eat the flesh of her husband's belly together with wine When prince Abhaya came to know this, he sent a confidential man to get fresh meat, blood and the entrails from a slaughter house (*ghāyatthāna*) [29] This flesh was placed on the belly of the king who pretended to be unconscious [30] The king simulated that the meat came from his body and thus satisfied the longing of the queen. Then we are told of queen Sudamsanā, who went to visit the

22 *Kalpa* 4 66-87
23 *Nāyā* 1, p 8 ff Queen Māyā, the mother of Gotama Buddha, dreams a white elephant entering her body, which is sculpturally represented on the Barhut Stūpa and elsewhere (*Nidānakathā*, 1, p 50 ff)
24 *Nāyā* 1, p 19, cf *Avadāna Sataka* I, 3, p 15
25 *Nāyā* 1 p 10 ff , also *Uttarā Tī* 9 p 132 a
26 *Vya Bhā* 1 335, p 16a.
27 3, p 57
28 *Vivā* 2, p 14.
29 According to another tradition the piece of flesh was cut from a hare (*Āva. cū.* II, p 166).
30 *Niryā*. 1, pp. 9-11.

painting-hall where having seen the painted deer she had a craving to eat their flesh [31] Khandasirī was another woman who had a desire to taste plenty of food, drink, spices, sweetmeats and wine.[32]

MISCARRIAGE

Cases of miscarriage were not uncommon The *Vivāgasūya* tells us of the queen Miyādevī who, since the onset of her conception, felt intense pain in her body and became disagreeable to her husband Miyādevī imagined that her fall from her husband's favours was due to her pregnancy, so she made up her mind for abortion. She took various kinds of alkalis (*khāra*), bitters (*kaduya*) and astringents which cause abortion, but failed to carry out her purpose and carried the pregnancy in sorrow In course of time, Miyādevī gave birth to a totally blind boy. She called her nurse (*ammadhāi*) and asked her to leave the child on the dunghill (*ukkuruḍiyā*). When the king came to know of this he immediately visited the queen and stopped her from doing so, since it was her first child.[33]

BIRTH

The birth of a child was an occasion for great rejoicing in ancient India. We are told that after a period of nine months and seven days and a half queen Dhārinī gave birth to Meghakumāra. King Seniya was pleased to hear the news , he gave away all his ornaments except the diadem to the chamber-women (*angapaḍiyāriyāo*), anointed their head and, manumitting them, gave them manifold presents. In honour of the auspicious event, king Seniya ordered his chamberlain to declare a general amnesty to the prisoners (*cāragasohana*) and to clear the city and to decorate it with flowers, garlands, etc. The prices of the goods were lowered and the king having sent for the eighteen corporations asked them to celebrate the birthday for ten days During this period of rejoicing tolls or taxes (*ussunkam · ukkaram*) were suspended, agricultural operation (*ukkittha*), selling, weighing unwelcome visit of the police officers(*abhadappavesam*) and the payment of debt were held in abeyance for the time being Excellent women of pleasure and actors, clappers and drummers participated in the festivals.

On the first day the parents observed the *jāyakamma* ceremony when the navel vein (*nāla*) of the child was cut and buried under the earth The second day *jāgarikā* or the whole night vigil was celebrated The third day the ceremony of showing the moon and the sun (*candasūradamsaniya*) to the baby was performed. Then for seven days there was a great rejoicing in the city. The eleventh day was the day of purification (*suikamma*) when the impurity caused by the birth of the child ended On the twelfth day the lustatory and birth rites were over and food, drinks, sweet-

31 *Pind Nir* 80

32 *Vivā* 3, p. 23 For pregnancy longings see also *Susruta Samhitā*, Śarīrasthāna, ch , III, pp. 90-92 , also cf *Mahāvagga* X, 2 5, p. 343. Also *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Appendix III, pp 221-8

33 1, p. 9 ; also *Āva. cū.* II, p. 166.

meats and dainties were distributed among friends, kinsmen, relatives and other subordinates There were dance parties in which the king participated and then in the presence of the relations the child was given a name (*nāmakaraṇa*) which had descended from generation after generation [34]

Then various ceremonies were performed when at appropriate occasions the child started babbling (*paraṅgāmana*), and walking (*caṅkamana*), when he had the first taste of solid food (*jemāmana*), when the first intelligible words came out from his mouth (*pajappāvana*), and when his ears were bored (*kannavedha*) Then there was birth ceremony (*saṃvaccharapaḍila-kkhana*), tonsure ceremony (*colopaṇa*), sacred thread ceremony (*uvanayana*) and ceremony of learning the alphabets (*kalāgahana*) [35]

In his babyhood a child was attended by five nurses as noted above [36] Besides there were a large number of attendants brought from foreign countries who were skilful, accomplished and well-trained, to be entrusted with the children.[37] The *Nisītha cūrṇi* describes in detail the various nurses, particularly the wet-nurse and the effect of her milk on the child.[38]

34 Sometimes the name given had some reference to an earlier event. A son of king Seniya was named Mehakumāra because his mother had had the craving of seeing rain-clouds out of season (*Nāyā* 1, p 20 f); a boy was named Umbaradatta because his mother had had the craving of worshipping the Umbara Jakkha (*Vivā* 7, p 44)

35 *Bhagavatī* (11 11), cf *Nāyā* (1, p 21), *Ovā Su*, 40, p 185, *Kalpa Sū* 5 102-108 For the daily life of a Jain with all details, see *Ācāradinakara* by Vardhamāna sūri, Bombay, 1922, also *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p 460 ff

36 See p 107 The *Divyāvadāna* (XXXII, p. 475) mentions four kinds of nurses *ankadhātri*, *mala*, *stana* and *krīdāpanikā*, also *Avadāna* I, V, p 28

37 *Nāyā* ibid

38 13, p 856 ff, cf also *Pinda. Ṭī.* 418 ff. Cf also *Suśruta Saṃhitā* Sarirasthāna ch 10, Sū 25, p 281, also *Mugapakkha Jātaka* (533), VI, p 21, *Lalitavistara*, 100.

CHAPTER III

POSITION OF WOMEN

GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN

It is said about the women that they are faithless, ungrateful, treacherous, untrustworthy and strict control must be kept over them It is said that a village or a town in which women are strong is sure to come to grief[1] In the voice of Manu the Jain texts state that a woman when a child must be kept under the control of her father, when married under her husband and when widow under her son , thus a woman is never allowed to live independently[2] It is stated that the daughter-in-law of a house if she had acquired the taste of witnessing procession or ran to see the commotion caused by a stray horse, or a chariot from the house window, was forbidden to do so If she did not desist she was abused, and if she persisted she was beaten, and even then if she did not stop, she was turned out of the house[3]

Various fanciful etymologies are given to the various synonyms of "woman" in Prākrit She is called *nārī* because there is no worse enemy of man than her ; she is termed *mahilā* because she charms by her wiles and graces ; she is called *pamadā* because she accelerates a man's passion ; she is called *mahiliyā* because she creates great dissension (*kali*), she is called *rāmā* because she takes delight in men by means of her coquettish gestures ; she is called *anganā* because she loves the body of men, she is called *lalanā* because she attracts a man even in domestic quarrels, and keeps company in pleasures and pains ; she is called *josiyā* because by her tricks and devices she keeps men under her subjugation ; she is called *vanitā* because she caters to the taste of man with various blandishments.[4] It is said of women "the intelligent may know the sands of the Ganges, the waters in the sea, and the size of the Himavat , women's heart they may not know " "They weep and make you weep, they tell lies and make you believe them, and deceitfully they eat poison ; they die, but they do not conceive a true affection." "Woman indeed, as soon as she has fallen in love is all sugar like a piece of sugarcane , the very same woman surpasses the bitter *nimba*, as soon as her love is gone "

"In a moment women fall in love, but in another moment their love grows cold Delighting in various lovesports and unstable in their affection, they are like the colour of turmeric "

"Cruel in their hearts and charming in body, speech, and glance. girls resemble a knife inlaid with gold."[5]

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1 *Vya Bhā.* 1, p. 130.
2 *ibid* 3 233.
3 *Brh Bhā* 1 1259 f
4 *Tandul* p 50
5 *Agadadatta*, Trans in *Hindu Tales* by Meyer, p. 286 f.

We notice that both Jainism and Buddhism place nuns under a more rigorous discipline than monks. They are prohibited to study the chapters on Mahāparijñā and Aruṇopapāta and the *Drstivāda*. It is stated that the *Dṛṣṭivāda* deals with the magical formulae and as women are not strong enough and are fickle-minded, hence they are not allowed to study the above-mentioned scripture [6] The climax is reached in the rule which lays down that a monk of three years practice can become a teacher of a nun of thirty years practice ; and a monk of five years practice can become an *ācārya* of a nun of sixty years practice.[7]

Jain texts mention a number of women of wicked nature, thereby preaching the ascetic ideal of renunciation. We hear of Mayanamañjarī, the wife of prince Agadadatta, who fell in love with another man and made an attempt on the life of her husband, which caused the prince to renounce the world and join the ascetic order.[8] Then we are told of a banker's wife, who had illicit connections with some young man The father-in-law of the woman told his son about it but he would not believe that his wife had been of false faith. Later on she was put to an ordeal of entering into a *Jakkha* temple. The ordeal resulted in a guilty person remaining in the temple for ever, while the non-guilty came out free The banker's wife visited the *Jakkha*, who was her own paramour in the disguise of a *Pisāca*, and said "if I love any other person except the man to whom I had been given in wedlock by my parents, 'you, the Ghost', should know." The *Jakkha* got perplexed and began to think that even he had been cheated by her In the meantime she came out of the temple and her father-in-law was put to humiliation by the people.[9]

It should be noted, however, that the above remarks about women do not find general acceptance in society and they are made with a view to blacken the character of women in order to warn the lustful monks to keep aloof from feminine charms that might overcome their reason Judging from the contemporary writings of other faiths, it does not appear that women had suddenly clothed themselves in all sorts of vices specially in the Jain and Buddhist period Varahamihira has pointed out boldly that all the defects that have been attributed to women exist in man as well. Women, however, try to remove them, while men are supremely indifferent in the matter. Marriage vows are equally binding on the couple Men treat them lightly, while women act up to them Who suffer more from the sex urge? Men, who marry even in their old age, or women who lead a chaste life, even if widowed in the prime of their youth ? Men no doubt go on talking of their love to their wives, while

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6 *Brh. Bhā Pī* 146 , also cf *Vya Bhā* 5 139

7 Cf the position of the *Bhikkhunis* in the Buddhist *Sangha*. The eight principle vows prior to admission, make a *Bhikkhuni* in every way subordinate to a *Bhikkhu*. The first rule is that a *Bhikkhunī*, even if of a hundred years standing, should make salutation to, should rise up in presence of, should bow down before a *Bhikkhu*, if only just initiated (*Cullavagga*, X, 1. 4).

8 *Uttarā Ṭī* , 4, pp 84-93

9 *Das cū* pp. 89-91. This story is also found in the *Śuka Saptati*, 15, p. 66, Ed. by Richard Schmidt, Leipzig, 1893.

they are alive, but contract second marriages soon after their death. Women, on the other hand, feel grateful to their husbands and decide to follow them on the funeral pyre, urged by the promptings of their conjugal love. Who then are more sincere in their love, men or women ? For men to say that women are fickle, frail and faithless is the height of impudence and ingratitude ; it reminds one of the audacity of clever thieves who first send away their loot and then challenge innocent persons demanding from them the stolen articles.[10]

THE OTHER SIDE

The other side of the picture cannot be ignored. We hear of devoted and chaste wives and of happy love and affection between husband and wife. A woman is counted among fourteen jewels of a *cakkavattī*.[11] Malli, although a woman, we are told rose to the status of a *Tīrthankara*[12]

Women were highly regarded and it is prescribed that at the time of difficulty such as caused by water, fire, robbers or famine, a woman must be rescued first.[13] We hear of the faithful and chaste woman Rājīmatī, who followed the footsteps of her husband and joined the ascetic order We are told that once Aritthanemi, his brother Rahanemi and Rājīmatī all were practising penance on the same mountain, when Rahanemi lost self-control and began to court his sister-in-law The latter resisted boldly and baffled his attempt by offering him a drink in which she vomitted in his presence.[14] Subhadrā was another chaste woman who was the daughter of a *śrāvaka* and was married to a Buddhist (*uvāsaga*). She was accused of having illegal connections with white-clad monks (*seyavaḍiyabhikkhu*). Once upon a time, when a Jain monk was begging alms, it so happened that a rice-speck entered into his eye which Subhadrā picked out with her tongue While doing so, the forehead of Subhadrā and the monk touched each other and her forehead mark made with red lead (*cīnapiṭṭha*) was imprinted on the monk's forehead. This was shown to Subhadrā's husband, who suspecting the chastity of his wife proposed to put her to an ordeal[15]

Jainism and Buddhism declared as we have seen that womanhood was no bar to salvation. We hear of a large number of women in Jain texts who distinguished themselves as teachers and preachers.[16] Ajja Candanā is the supreme example of superiority of women, who was

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10 *Bṛhatsamhitā*, ch. 76 6 12, 14, 16, 17 , trans by A S Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, p 387

11 *Jambu*. 3 67 , also cf *Dīgha* ii. pp 172-7 which mentions *cakka ratanam, hatthi ratanam, assa ratanam, mani ratanam, itthi ratanam, gahapati ratanam* and *pariṇāyaka ratanam*

12 *Nāyā* 8. However, attaining *Tīrthankara*hood by a woman is unusual according to the Śvetāmbaras and hence it is described as one of the ten unexpected things According to the Digambaras, however, Malli was a male, and no woman can ever attain *Mokṣa*.

13 *Bṛh. Bhā* 4·4348f.

14 *Das. Sū*. 2·7-11 ; *Uttarā*. XXII.

15 *Das. cū*. 1, p. 49 f.

16 Cf. *Anta*. 5, 7, 8 ; *Nāyā*. II, 1-10, pp. 220-30.

the first disciple of Mahāvīra and under whom a large number of nuns practised the rules of right conduct and attained salvation.[17] Then we hear of Jayantī, the sister of king Sayānīya of Kosambī, who abandoned her royal robe and became a devout nun.[18]

MARRIAGE

Marriage, according to the Hindus, is not merely a contract between two parties but a spiritual union, a holy bond of unity brought about by divine dispensation. One of the purposes underlying such marriage is to keep the continuity of the line for which man must take the best bride available and the maiden should be married to the best groom available. There should be complete harmony between husband and wife.

MARRIAGEABLE AGE

Jain texts do not tell us definitely about the age of marriage. We are simply told that both a girl and a boy should be of an equal age (*samānavaya*). It seems that in ancient India late marriages were considered harmful. A popular saying is quoted that, if after the attainment of puberty of a maiden, her guardians fail to arrange for her marriage, they go to hell.[19]

FORMS OF MARRIAGE

The forms of marriage mentioned in the Jain texts may be classified into three types[20]: marriages arranged by parents of both parties, *Svayamvara*, and *Gāndharva* marriage. The current form of marriage was that arranged by parents of both parties. Generally, marriage within one's own caste (*jāti*) was the rule. As in the *Jātakas*, we meet here with the effort to keep the family pure through the marriage connections among the people of same standing and profession and not to allow it to degenerate through intermixture with lower elements[21]. Ordinarily, we find that the parents brought a wife for their son from a family of the same rank (*sarisayakula*). We are told that prince Meghakumāra was married to eight princesses of equal age, beauty and virtue, belonging to the same royal rank.[22] However, exceptions regarding caste and rank are not unknown in the Jain texts. For instance, we hear of the minister Teyaliputta who married a goldsmith's daughter,[23] Gayasukumāla, a ksatriya,

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17 Cf *Anta.* 8, *Kalpa sū*, 5. 135.
18 *Bhag* 12 2
19 *Pinda. Nir* 500; cf for a similar view, *Manu* (IX, 88).
20 In the Hindu literature eight forms of marriage are enumerated (*Manu*, 3·21); *Mahābhārata* (I. 64 8f), see also Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-56.
21 Cf. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 51 f.
22 *Nāyā.* 1, p. 23.
23 *Nāyā.* 14, p. 148.

was betrothed to a Brāhmaṇa girl;[24] king Jiyasattu married a painter's daughter;[25] Bhambhadatta married the girls from the Brāhmana and the merchant families.[26]

In matters regarding marriage very often the elders consulted each other and informed of their grown-up children. Sometimes the consent of the boy was understood by his silence. We hear of Jinadatta, a merchant of Campā, who happened to see the daughter of Sāgaradatta playing with a golden ball (*kanagatindūsaya*). The former approached the latter and proposed to marry his son to the latter's daughter. Later on Jinadatta went home and consulted his son who gave his consent by keeping quiet.[27]

MARRIAGE BY PURCHASE

In this form of marriage a wife was obtained for money paid to her father's family by the husband or his father. The minister Teyaliputta, referred to above, wanted to marry the daughter of a goldsmith, and so he asked him as to what money (*sunka*) he should pay him. The latter replied that it was sufficient that a minister was marrying his daughter and hence he need not worry about payment. We hear of a merchant, who, after leaving his negligent wife, married another girl by paying a large sum.[28] A robber who had plenty of money paid the desired amount (*jahacchiyam sunkam*) and married a girl.[29] Then we hear of king Candacchāya, who, while estimating the value of Malli, remarked that she was worth his whole kingdom.[30] These instances sufficiently testify to the prevalence of the practice of giving daughter in marriage in exchange of money.[31]

It is said that the following marriage gifts (*pīidāna*) were given to Meghakumāra by his parents: eight crores of silver, the same of gold, eight crowns, eight pairs of earrings, eight strings of pearls (*hāra*), half strings of pearls, (*addhahāra*), the same of one stringed necklaces of gems, (*ekkāvali*), the same of pearls, gold, necklaces (*kaṇakāvali*), jewel necklaces (*rayaṇāvali*), bracelets, armlets (*tuḍaya*), eight suits of fine linen (*khoma*), *tussar* silk (*vaḍa*), silk (*paṭṭa*) *dukūla* silk (*dugulla*), eight figures of the goddesses such as *srī*, *hrī*, *dhrti*, *kīrti*, *buddhi* and *laksmī*, eight round iron seats (*nandam*), stools (*bhaddā*) locks (*tāla* ?) flags, eight herds of cows (*vaya*), eight dramas with thirtytwo actors in each, eight jewelled horses, elephants, carts, (*yāna*), carriages (*jugga*) coaches (*sibikā*), litters (*sandamāṇī*),

24 *Anta.* 3, p. 16.
25 *Uttarā Ṭī*, 9. p. 141 a ff.
26 *ibid.*, pp. 188 a, 192 a. In the days of Manu the system of intermarriages was much more flexible than it is today. The *anuloma* marriages were not uncommon in society down to the eighth century A. D. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
27 *Nāyā.* 16, p. 168 f. Also *Anta.* 3, p. 16.
28 *Uttarā Ṭī.* 4, p. 97.
29 *Uttarā. cū.* p. 110.
30 *Nāyā.* 8, p. 103.
31 For condemnation of such marriage, see *Manu.* III.51; also Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-50

elephant litters (*gilli*), horse-palanquin (*thilli*), open carts (*viyaḍajāna*), chariots, eight villages, eight male slaves (*dāsa*), female slaves (*dāsi*), attendants (*kinkara*), chamberlains (*kañcuki*), courtiers (*mahattara*), eunuchs (*vaṁsadhara*), eight lamps, platters (*thāla*), chargers (*pāi*), mirror plates (*thāsaga*), cups (*mallaga*), spoons (*kaiviya*), *avaeja* pot (com *tāpikā-hastaka* ?), frying pans (*avapakka*), stools (*pāviḍha*), seats (*bhisiyā*), bowls (*karodiyā*), couches (*pallankaya*), sofas (*padisijjā*) each of gold, silver and gold-silver, the same number of swan chairs (*āsana*), heron chairs, eagle chairs, tall chairs (*oṇaya*), sloping chairs (*paṇaya*), long chairs, fine chairs (*bhadda*) winged chairs (*pakkha*), crocodile chairs, lotus chairs and *disā-sovatthiya* chairs, eight casks of oil (*tellasamugga*), the same of the substances such as *kuttha*, *patta*, *coya*, *tagara*, *haritāla*, *hingula*, *maṇosilā* and mustard (*sarisava*) ; eight hunch-backed women (*kirāta*) etc. as mentioned before There were eight maid-servants holding umbrellas, chowries, fans, bowls, five nurses, eight women to rub (*maddiya*), to knead, (*ummaddiya*), to bathe and to attire , eight women to pound sandal, to pound powders (*cunnaya*) , eight women to make sport (*kīlākārī*), to make laughter (*davagāri*), to wait by his couch (*uvatthāniyā* or *ucchāviyā*), eight to be of his theatre (*nādailla*), eight women as attendants (*koḍumbinī*), kitcheners (*mahānasinī*), stewards (*bhanḍārī*), carriers of babes (*ajjhadhāriṇi*?), flowers and drink, eight to perform the domestic sacrifice (*balikārī*), to make beds, to carry messages within and without, eight to make chaplets (*mālākārī*), and eight to be dispatched out (*pesaṇakārī*). Besides, the gifts included plenty of riches, gold, jewels, gems, pearls, shells, corals and rubies which were sufficient to last for generations [32]

DOWRY SYSTEM

We have instances which show the existence of the dowry system in the form of money, goods or estate which a woman brought to her husband in marriage. We are told of the wives of Mahāsayaga of Rāyagiha, who possessed ancestral property [33] Then we hear of a king of Vāṇārasī who gave away one thousand villages, one hundred elephants, plenty of treasure (*bhaṇḍāra*), one lac of foot-soldiers and ten thousand horses to his son-in-law in marriage.[34]

CEREMONIES

The usual practice in the first type of marriage was that the bridegroom went to the bride's house for marriage, though there are instances when the bride went to the house of the bridegroom [35] Lucky days were fixed for the ceremony and the bridegroom and his party were received with

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32 *Nāyā Ṭī* 1, p 42a f, cf *Bhag* III, p 244 f Bechardas, Abhaya Com. 11. 11, *Antagada*, pp. 33-35. trans by Barnett.

33 *Uvā* 8, p 61 Also cf Altekar, *op cit* pp. 82-4

34 *Uttarā Ṭī* 4, p. 88; also cf *Rāmāyaṇa* I. 74·4 ff The *Jātaka* mentions the custom of celebrating the marriage with bath money given by the father to his daughter, specially in royal weddings (Mehta, *P B I* p 281).

35 Cf. *Nāyā*. 14, p. 148 f.

great honour and were entertained with food, drink, etc. We read that Sagara took his bath, held the domestic sacrifice (*balikamma*) performed the lustratory rites of charm and auspicious marks (*kayakouyapāyacchitta*), decked his body with ornaments and in the company of his relatives proceeded to the house of Sāgaradatta to marry Sukumāliyā. Sagara and Sukumāliyā both were made to sit on the same slab (*paṭṭa*), they were given a bath with white and yellow pitchers, oblation was offered to fire and amidst auspicious songs and kisses (*uvayaṇa*) from the married women the marriage ceremony was performed.[36]

SVAYAṀVARA

Then we come to the *Svayaṁvara* marriage. We have several instances where girls attaining proper age chose publicly husbands for themselves from a number of suitors. The *Nāyādhammakahā* refers to the *Svayaṁvara* of Dovai which was attended by various prominent kings and princes. The guests were received with great pomp and show and were entertained with food, drink, wine, flowers, garments and music. Then by the beat of drum the *Svayamvara* of Dovai was proclaimed and the guests arrived in the *Svayaṁvara* hall especially built for the purpose on the bank of the Ganges. It was cleaned, sprinkled over, filled with bunches of fresh sweet-smelling blossoms of five colours, it smelt pleasantly with the shimmering fumes of *kālāguru*, fine *kundurukka* and *turukka* and was fragrant with sweet-smelling fine scents (*sugandhavaragandhiam*), a very incense stick (*gandhavaṭṭibhūyam*) and the galleries were arranged (*mañcāimañcakaliya*). The visitors took their respective seats which were already marked with their names and waited for Dovai to come. In the meantime, Dovai took her bath, performed the lustatory rites etc., put on festive clean garments of state, visited the Jain temple (*jinaghara*) and coming back decked her body with various ornaments and accompanied by her female servants (*ceḍiyā*), play-nurse (*kīḍāviyā*) and the private secretary (*bhiya*) reached the *Svayaṁvara* hall in a chariot She bowed low to the kings and the princes, took a beautiful garland (*siridāmagaṇḍa*) made of fragrant flowers and emitting excellent smell in her hand and in the company of the play-nurse with a bright mirror in her hand, moved about the hall. The play-nurse, pointing out with her right hand, described the family, strength, *gotra*, power, beauty, learning, grandeur, youth and character of the various kings and princes, whose reflections were cast into the mirror. Then Dovai came to the place where the five Pāṇḍavas were seated, she put the garland around their necks and chose them as her husbands.[37]

The *Uttarādhyayana* commentary refers to another *Svayaṁvara* marriage of the princess Nivvui. With the permission of her father she went to Indapura and declared that one who was brave and valiant and one who

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[36] *ibid.*, 16, p. 169.
[37] *ibid.*, 16, pp. 179-82.

could shoot an effigy, would be her husband. Various princes and kings were invited to attend the *Svayaṁvara*. The flags were raised up in the city and a *Svayaṁvara* hall was erected outside the town There on an axle (*aksa*) to which were attached eight wheels (*cakra*) stood an effigy, which was to be shot in the eye. The twenty sons of king Indradatta tried their luck without success. In the end, another son of Indradatta stood up and succeeded in shooting at the eye of the effigy, and was chosen as husband by Nivvui.[38]

We are told of a *Svayaṁvara* hall (*vāgharanasālā*), built in Tosali where a fire-vessel was kept always burning. In this hall slave boys and a slave girl were made to enter and the girl selected a boy as her husband.[39]

GĀNDHARVA MARRIAGE

The third type of marriage is the *Gāndharva* marriage. In this marriage the bride and bridegroom made their own choice without the knowledge of their guardians and were married without rites or ceremonies. Thus Raktasubhadrā married Arjuna without the consent of her parents.[40] We hear of king Sīharaha of Puṇḍavaddhana, who married a girl by *Gāndharva* marriage.[41]

There were also many instances of elopement and abduction, The story of the elopement of Vāsavadattā with Udayana is well-known ; then Suvarnāngulikā, a maid servant of Udāyana was abducted by king Pajjoya, Ruppinī by Kanha, Kamalāmelā by Sāgaracanda,[42] and Cellanā was abducted by king Seniya. Regarding abduction, besides the well-known case of Sītā, the Jain texts refer to the abduction of Dovaī by king Paumanāha of Amarakankā [43]

Mention may be made of bringing up women for immoral purposes (*asatiposaṇa*) which was in vogue in the country of Golla [44]

OTHER KINDS OF MARRIAGE

Contrary to limitations on marriage imposed by Brāhmanic injunctions, we come across the examples of unorthodox marriages in Jain canonical literature Such marriages, however, are not supported by other sources except the marriage with maternal uncle

Marriage with step-mother was prevalent in countries like Golla where the Brāhmanas (*vippa*) were allowed to marry their step-mother (*māisavitti*).[45]

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38 1, 3, p 65a

39 *Bṛh Bhā* 2 3446. This reminds us of primitive practices current in the primitive tribes in India

40 *Panha Ṭī* 4, 16, p 85.

41 *Uttarā Ṭī* 9, p 141 , also 13, p. 190.

42 *Bṛh. Bhā Pī* , p 57.

43 *Nāyā*. 16, p 186

44 *Āva. Ṭī*. (Hari), p. 829 a.

45 *Āva. cū*. II, p. 81 ; also cf. *Nisī cū*. II, p. 745 ; *Āva. Ṭī*. (Hari.) p. 580a; also see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol. VII, p. 116 ff.

According to Jain mythology, sister marriage was prevalent at the time of Usabha, who married his own sister. The *Āvaśyaka cūrṇi* refers to another case of sister marriage when king Pupphaketu allowed his son to marry his own sister.[46] This kind of marriage was also prevalent in the country of Golla.[47]

The marriage of cousins also was in vogue in the primitive society. The cousin marriage, with the daughter of maternal uncle (*māuladuhiyā*) was allowed in the countries of Lāta and Daksināpatha,[48] and was prohibited in Uttarāpatha.[49] We are told that Bambhadatta married his maternal uncle's daughter.[50] The cousin marriage, *i.e* the marriage with sister's daughter (*māusaduhiyā*) was also prevalent, but it was not allowed in Lāta.[51] The other form of cousin marriage prevalent was marriage with the daughter of father's sister.[52]

SON-IN-LAW LIVING IN THE HOUSE

There were other marriages in which the parents of the girl preferred keeping their son-in-law in their own house, instead of sending their daughter to her mother-in-law's house. Thus the father of Sukumāliyā married his daughter to Sāgara on the condition that he was to stay in his house.[53] We are told that in Pārasa a horse-breeder employed a servant to look after his horses for which he gave him two horses a year as his wages. The master gave him an option to select two horses from his team. The servant, in consultation of the master's daughter, with whom he was in love, selected two best horses whereupon the master was pleased to marry his daughter to him and keep him as a house son-in-law (*ghara-jāmāuya*).[54] This custom is still prevalent in Bengal and United Provinces in India and is known as "*gharjamāi*". The son-in-law lived with his wife's parents under the following circumstances : (i) when the girl's father was well-to-do and had no son, (ii) when the girl's family was very poor and wanted the help of a strong man, and (iii) when the son-in-law was a poor man and could not pay a dowry.[55]

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46 II, p. 178.

47 *ibid* p 81 The com on the *Suttampāta* (i, p. 357) refers to the Śakyans who were rebuked by the Koliyans for cohabiting like dogs, jackals and such like beasts with their own sisters, also *Kunāla Jātaka* (No. 536) V, p. 412 , also *Digha* I, p. 92 , also see *I H Q.*, 1926, p 563 ff

48 Baudhāyana refers to this kind of marriage. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa casts a fling at the Dākṣinātya, who is overjoyed to get the daughter of his maternal uncle (Chakladar, *op cit.*, p 133) , also see *Census India*, 1931, Vol I, Pt. I, p 458

49 *Āva cū* II, p 81.

50 *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, p 189a

51 *Āva. cū , op. cit.*

52 *ibid.*, II, p. 160

53 *Nāyā.*, 16, P. 169

54 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3·3959 f ; however cf. *Kundakakucchi Sindhava Jātaka* (No. 254), II p. 287 f.

55 See *Census India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 250 f.

MARRIAGE IN EXCHANGE

Marriages were arranged in exchange for giving one's own sister in marriage. We read about the marriage of Devadatta, who married the sister of Dhanadatta and in exchange gave his sister in marriage to him.[56] The custom of marriage in exchange is still prevalent among the *caturvedīs* of Mathura and other parts of United Province. The reason behind the custom seems to have been the dearth of girls in particular caste the members of which were not allowed to marry outside. It is known as *sāṇṭā* or *adalābadalā*.[57]

POLYGYNY AND POLYANDRY

As has been said above, begetting children was the chief goal of Hindu marriage. The continuity of the line depends on the male issue; hence the birth of sons was considered necessary. A son was genuinely believed to be necessary for spiritual salvation. The Hindu law-givers allowed a man to marry more than once. This was the underlying idea of polygamous system among the Hindus, though in later times it degenerated to such an extent that polygamy became a fashion with the rich Indians.[58]

As a general rule in ancient times people were monogamous, and polygyny was a fashion among the rich and ruling sections of the society. The kings and princes considered it a privilege to have a crowded harem, which strengthened their political power by contracting numerous but judicious matrimonial alliances. The rich people regarded plurality of wives as a proof of their wealth, reputation and social position. References to polygyny are numerous in the Jain texts. In this connection the names of king Bharata, king Vikkamajasa,[59] king Seniya[60] and that of Gāhāvai Mahāsaya may be mentioned.[61]

Unlike polygyny, polyandry was a rare incident in life. Of polyandrous marriage, we come across a solitary example of Dovai, which, of course, is a remnant of Epic Age.[62] Polyandry is still practised among all classes and castes in Jaunsar-Bawar (district Dehra Dun).[63]

REMARRIAGE OF A WIDOWER

It may, however, happen that a woman may be forsaken, or allowed to go away by her husband or may go away of her own accord. Under

56 *Pinda. Nir.* 324 f. According to the Buddhist tradition, king Bimbisāra and Pasenadi of Kosala were connected by marriage, each having married a sister of the other (*Dhammapada A.* I, p. 385).

57 See *Census India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 252.

58 See Valvalkar, *Hindu Social Institutions*, p. 193.

59 *Uttarā. Tī.*, 18, p. 239.

60 *Anta.*, 7, p. 43.

61 See Supra p. 157.

62 See also Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-4.

63 *Census. India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 252.

such circumstances, the man was free to marry another woman. Thus we are told in the commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana* that a merchant's wife was fond of decorating her body so much that she did not look after the household servants and property and as a result all the servants left her. In course of time, when the merchant returned from his journey, not seeing any servant in the house, he got angry with his wife, turned her out of the house, and married another woman.[64]

WIDOW REMARRIAGE

According to the Hindu ideal of marriage, a true wife must preserve her chastity as much after as before her husband's death and hence the marriage of widows was generally not favoured in ancient India. Although according to the *Smṛtis*, there are "five cases of legal necessity" whereby the wife is allowed to marry a second husband, *viz* , if the first husband is lost, or dead, or becomes an ascetic or is impotent or is expelled from the caste ;[65] yet it seems that on the whole the widow remarriage was looked with contempt.[66]

The *Ovāiya* mentions the women whose husband is gone abroad, the women who have lost their husbands, the women who are widows from their childhood, the women who are forsaken, the women who are guarded by their mother, father, brother, family or father-in-law, the women whose nails have grown, the hairy women who have grown beard(*maṁsu*), the women who have given up the use of flowers, perfumes, garlands and ornaments, the women who suffer from perspiration, dirt and filth without a bath, the women who have given up the use of milk, curds, butter, *ghee*, oil, jaggery, salt, honey, wine and meat ; it is said of such women that they observe celibacy and never marry another man [67]

Reference is made to child-widows who joined the ascetic order. Dhanasiri[68] and Lakkhaṇāvatī[69] are mentioned as such widows who entered the life of nuns.

THE CUSTOM OF *NIYOGA*

Reference may be made here to the custom of *niyoga* which prevailed in ancient India. The practice prescribed for a childless widow to have intercourse with the brother or any near kinsman of her deceased husband to beget a male child.[70] In the *Āvasyaka cūrni* reference is made to this

64 4, p 97
65 *Nārada*, XII, 97.
66 See Valvalkar, *op* , *cit* , chapter on Marriage ; also Altekar, *op. cit* , pp. 181-3
67 38, p 167 , cf *Manu* (IX 65)
68 *Āva cū* p 526
69 *Mahā Nī* p 24.
70 According to *Manu* (IX 59f) the person who was appointed under *niyoga* to beget a son for the widow was to approach her anointed with clarified butter, silently to give her one son only, and by no means a second, and after the purpose of *niyoga* is served the man and the woman had to behave towards each other like a father and a daughter-in-law , also *Gautama* XVIII 4ff, Also see Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp 168-76.

custom, although it does not come exactly under the category of *niyoga*. It is said that once Kayapuṇṇa, a merchant of Rāyagiha, was sleeping in a temple, whence he was taken away by a merchant woman to her house This woman had lost her son in a shipwreck, and since there was no heir to his property, she feared that the heirless property might go to the king. The merchant woman told her four daughters-in-law that Kayapunna was their brother-in-law (*devara*) who was found after a very long time Kayapunna remained there for twelve years and in the course of time begot four children by each one of them [71]

SELF IMMOLATION

We do not find any instance of self immolation or the custom of *Sati* in Jain texts except one in the *Mahānisīha* when a widowed daughter of a certain king, in order to save her family from disrepute, wanted to perform *Sati*, but since this custom was not in vogue in her father's family, she refrained from it.[72]

PUBLIC APPEARANCE OF WOMEN

In early days as a whole there was nothing like modern *purdah* system in existence, though there were certain restrictions on the movement of women. *Javaniyā* or the curtain is mentioned in the Jain texts. It is stated that Tisalā sat behind the curtain and listened to the interpretations of dreams.[73] But on the whole we find that women appeared in the public without any restriction. They could go out to visit their friends and relations. Many women are seen going to the *jakkha* and other shrines for worship and gathering on the occasion of various festivals. We hear that king Kūniya visited Mahāvīra along with his queens.[73a] In the case of prince-converts we find them being taken to Mahāvīra by the king and the queen who made a joint gift of their son to the Teacher.[74]

We also come across women dressed in man's attire, putting on armour, equipped with weapons, arms, shields, bows and arrows.[75] There are examples when women actually fought battles. We hear of a certain queen who fought a battle in the disguise of her lord.[76]

THE POSITION OF THE *GAṆIKAS*

Secular prostitution in India is very old institution and dates back from the time of the *Ṛgveda* where the term *nṛtu* occurs denoting a female "dancer"[77] In the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* it seems to be recognised as a pro-

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71 pp 466-9.
72 p. 29 f. For the *Sati* custom, see Altekar, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.
73 *Kalpa*. 4. 63; also *Nāyā*. 1, p. 8.
73a *Ovā*. *Sū* 33, p. 144f.
74 For *Purdah* system in ancient India, See Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-211.
75 *Vivā*. 3, p. 23.
76 *Vya*. *Bhā*. 1, p. 100 a.
77 *Vedic Index*, I, p. 457.

fession while in the law-books the prostitute is regarded with disfavour. In the *Jātakas* we find that the courtesans were not only tolerated but held in certain amount of esteem. According to Kautilya, they enjoyed a privileged position and held the royal umbrella, fan and golden pitcher. *Vātsyāyana* devotes six chapters to courtesans and divides them into nine classes, the most honourable being those always rewarded by kings and praised by gifted persons.[78]

It seems that *gaṇikā* was a member of *gaṇa* or corporation whose charms were the common property of the whole body of men associated together by a common band, economic or political.[79]

A *gaṇikā* in ancient India was highly respected by the people in general. According to Vātsyāyana her mind was cultivated and trained by a thorough education and she was versed in various artistic accomplishments.[80]

The *Nāyādhammakahā* refers to a rich courtesan of Campā She was versed in the traditional sixtyfour arts, possessed sixtyfour accomplishments of a courtesan, and was well-versed in the science of erotics[81] She was also a linguist, well-versed in dialects, she dressed sumptuously and was an accomplished singer and dancer Her fees were a thousand coins, and such was her renown that she was granted the privilege of carrying umbrella, chowries and fans[82] and moved in a *karṇīratha* as a mark of royal favour. She was also appointed as the head of many thousand courtesans[83]

One of the various fine arts and sciences in which the courtesans were versed was that of *Vaiśika*.[84] It is said that in order to learn this art people from distant places approached the courtesans. The *Sūyagaḍa* commentary mentions Dattavaisika,[85] who, being cheated by a certain courtesan, would not show his love towards her The courtesan played various tricks mentioned in *Vaiśika* upon him but without any result.[86] The courtesans were also expert psychologists and skilled in painting The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to a courtesan, who had a nice picture-gallery in which she had painted the characteristics of different casts (*jātikamma*) and different phases of *ars amoris* depicting the reconciliation

78 *Kathāsaritsāgara*, trans Penzer, Vol I. App IV, p. 138 etc cf *Paramatthadīpanī* the com on the *Udāna*, p. 289 where a *gaṇikā* is called as *nagara-sobhinī*

79 Chakladar, *Studies in Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra*, p. 199 f. For the Jain legend regarding the origin of *gaṇikas* see *Vasu* p 103 Also cf *Manu*. who associates the *gaṇa* and the *gaṇikā* in one verse saying that the food offered by both were equally to be refused by a Brāhmaṇa (IV. 209), also *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, p 17f where Āmrapālī is mentioned as a common property of the corporation of Vaiśālī (*gaṇabhogyā*).

80 Chakladar, *op cit*, p 198, also Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 35, 59-62

81 As described by Vātsyāyana, says the commentator For 64 ways of accosting a man, see *Dhammapada A* IV, p. 197

82 Cf *Arthasastra*, p 136

83 3, p 59, also cf the description of Kāmajjhayā in the *Vivāgasuya* (2, p 12)

84 A quotation is given in the *Sūyagada cūrni* (p 140) from *Vaiśika* *Vaiśika* is also mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* (p. 156), also *Mṛcchakaṭika*, I, p. 2, also Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Bombay 1943, Chapter 23.

85 Dattaka is mentioned as an author of *Vaiśika* in Dāmodara's *Kuṭṭanīmata*, vs. 504

86 4. 1. 24.

of the lovers. When a visitor approached her she took him to the picture-gallery and asked what pictures he liked most From the answer of the man she understood his caste, his artistic taste and the weakness and the strength of his nature [87]

The courtesans in ancient days were not morally degraded, but they were the women of high character whose company was sought by respectable citizens.[88] Jain texts mention various courtesans of fame and character who did not like to flirt with many, but yearned to have a man of their choice and to live happily with him. Kosā and Upakosā are mentioned two courtesans of Pāḍaliputta The former loved Sthūlabhadra and the latter Vararuci.[89] Kosā lived with Sthūlabhadra for twelve years and loved him so much that she did not like the company of any other person after Sthūlabhadra retired from the world. In course of time, the monk Sthūlabhadra returned to Pādaliputta and visited Kosā. She listened to his religious sermons and became a *śrāvikā*. She took a vow of celibacy that she would not show favour to anyone excepting when forced by the king.[90] Ḍevadattā was another "public-woman" of Ujjenī, who was proud of her beauty, grace and accomplishments. She was devoted to prince Mūladeva of Pādaliputta and wanted to get rid of Ayala, a rich merchant of the town and her lover. Once her mother asked her not to love Mūladeva because he was penniless, but Devadattā replied that she was fond of his virtues, and not of his wealth Later on, she visited the king and requested him not to force upon her any other man except Mūladeva.[91]

87 Pī. 262 Cf. the picture-gallery of Āmrapālī of Vaiśālī (*Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, p 19) See also Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭinīmata*, Bombay, 1924, which describes various cunning arts, wiles and devices which were resorted to by courtesans to decoy and lead to ruin guileless but weak-minded young men

88 Cf the character of Cārudatta in *Mṛcchakaṭika*

89 According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Vol I, ch IV, pp 32-6) Upakosā was the chaste wife of Vararuci Once when Vararuci had gone to the Himālayas, Upakosā went to take bath in the Ganges. There she was seen by the royal minister, priest and the judge who became enamoured of her She made an appointment with them and asked each of them to come at different times Later on, she shut them in a box which was carried to the king's court.

90 *Uttarā*. *Ṭī.* 2 29 ff

91 *ibid*, 3, pp. 59-65 Cf other *gaṇikās* of high character in Buddhist and Brāhmanic literature. The courtesan Bindumatī made the great Ganges flow backwards by her act of truth Asked by king Asoka as to what caused this wonder, she replied that whosoever gave her gold, whether a nobleman or a Brāhmana or a tradesman or a servant she regarded them all alike (*Milindapañha*, p 121f) The *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (II, No 276), p 380 tells another story about a righteous courtesan who received one thousand pieces from a man who never returned for three years The courtesan for honour's sake did not take even a piece of betel from another man When she became poor, she went to the court and got the permission of the judges to earn wages as before. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Vol III, ch XXXVIII, pp. 207-217) we notice a courtesan making a vow that, if in six months her lover would not return, she would give away all her property and enter into fire. She passed her time by giving charities to the Brāhmanas. For Ambapālikā see *Dīgha*. II, pp. 95-8 ;- *Therīgāthā*, 252-70, *Mahāvagga* VI, 30 p. 231-3.

A *gaṇikā* was highly esteemed by the king, who considered her as the glory (*rayaṇa*) of his capital.[92] Almost all big towns had a chief courtesan. Nandinī is mentioned as a chief courtesan of a certain city. When she was taken ill she was replaced by another and, when the latter was absent, a third was brought in.[93]

The courtesans lived in state and luxuries and found favour with rich people and kings They went on picnics with rich people. We are told that the two merchants of Campā ordered their servants to take all kinds of food, perfumes and flowers, to the garden and to prepare a temporary camp there. Then after mounting the chariot with Devadattā they went to the garden and enjoyed water-sports in the lake and then went to the camp and enjoyed sexual intercourse. In the afternoon they walked hand in hand with Devadattā outside the camp and enjoyed the beauty of the garden. They returned in the evening and the merchants gave Devadattā rich presents.[94]

Dancing girls (*nattiyāo*) are mentioned.[95]

FEMALE ASCETICS

The nuns played an important part in the fourfold *Saṅgha* of Mahāvīra as has been mentioned already. Like monks nuns too lived upon the charity of the people though their life was much harder and they were placed under a more rigorous discipline than monks. It is stated that they should not stay alone without the protection of monks and should avoid the company of men of doubtful character. In fact, those were very hard days for nuns. When they went out to beg they were subjected to various annoyances by young men, who followed them to their residence (*vasati*). The nuns were mocked at during their menstrual period when the *Kāpālika* ascetics by means of spells tried to fascinate them. It is for this reason that the Jain nuns were asked to cover themselves thoroughly like a plantain tree. But still the young men used to give them much trouble. Under such circumstances the nuns were asked to keep the doors of their residence closed. If there were no doors, the monks used to guard them or they themselves sat together with sticks in their hands to stop the tyrants. If still a young nun was tormented by mischievous persons, it was the duty of some young monk who was well-versed in the art of fighting, to meet the tormentor in the disguise of a nun and punish him.[96] We are told of Sukumāliyā who joined the ascetic order together with her two brothers. Sukumāliyā was a beautiful nun and so when she went out to beg she was followed by young men who even entered her residence by force. The chief nun informed the *ācārya* who

92 *Uttarā. Ṭī* 3, p. 64.
93 *Ācā cū* p 71.
94 *Nāyā.* 3, p. 60, also 16, p. 174; also cf. Chakladar, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
95 *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 9. p. 136.
96 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3·4106 ff; 1·2443 f., 2085.

asked her brothers to protect their sister. Now Sukumāliyā began to live with her brothers who used to go out begging by turns. As both were adepts in the art of fighting, if anybody dared to enter their residence, they thrashed him and brought him to his senses.[97]

We have instances when the nuns were lured by the householders.[98] Sometimes they were raped by force. It is laid down that under such circumstances a nun should immediately inform her teacher. It is stated that, even if a nun gets pregnant, she should not be turned out from the *Saṅgha*, but the offender must be punished. It is said that if nobody knew of her pregnancy, the nun should be kept in the house of a *śrāvaka*. If it is revealed, the nun should be kept in the *upāśraya* and must not be sent out for alms. If some people made remarks, they must be told that she could not be abondoned in such conditions. Anyhow the nun should be defended by citing examples of Kesī and Satyakī who were born of nuns without being guilty, and should be looked after properly.[99]

There are examples when the nuns were abducted. We have seen how king Gaddabhilla abducted the sister-nun of Kālakācārya, which resulted in his destruction. We are told of a Buddhist merchant of Bharuyaccha who took the garb of a Jain layman and invited the nuns under the pretext of offering them alms. The merchant asked the nuns to enter his ship to pay a visit to the Jain temples and as soon as they stepped in he set the ship in motion.[100] There was also trouble from the robbers. We are told that once some robbers joined with the Bodhiya Mlecchas and carried off the nuns.[101] Sometimes the robbers carried away the clothes of the nuns. It is laid down that under such circumstances the nun should cover their private parts with skin, vegetable leaves, *darbha* grass, or with their own hands.[102]

LOVE AFFAIRS AND FEMALE ASCETICS

Jain texts mention a number of *Parivvāiyas*[103] who carried love-messages and acted as go-between the lovers. The *Uttarādhyayana*

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97 *ibid* 4 5254-5259, cf *Kuṇāla Jātaka* (No 536), V, pp 424-8.

98 *Bṛh Bhā* 1 2670-2; cf. *Therigāthā* (139-144) where the nun Khemā is invited to enjoy sensual pleasures.

99 *Bṛh Bhā* 3 4128-39 Here the five ways are mentioned which could cause pregnancy without sexual intercourse (a) if a woman sat without cover at the place where a man had discharged semen which could cause pregnancy, (b) if a person desirous of a son introduces semen in her vagina, (c) if the same thing is done by her father-in-law, (d) if the semen was sticking to some cloth that was used to cover vagina to stop the flow of menstrual blood and (e) drinking of water mixed with semen could cause pregnancy (*ibid* 4139) Cf the *Mātanga Jātaka* (IV No 497) p. 378 where the Mātanga touched his thumb to the navel of his wife and she conceived, also *Vinaya* iii, p. 205 f, also *Dhammapada A* III, p 145 In Buddhist literature we hear of the nun Uppalavaṇṇā, who was raped by a young *brahmacārin* in the grove of Andhavana in Sāvitthi, and it is said that from that time nuns did not live in Andhavana (*ibid*, II, pp 49, 52)

100 *Bṛh Bhā* 1. 2054. 101 *Vya Bhā* 7. 418

102 *Bṛh Bhā*. 1. 2986, *Niśī. cū* 5, p 407

103 In the *Dasakumāracarita* (p. 168) the nun named *Arhantikā* or *Nirgranthikā* plays a part of go-between, See Bloomfield False ascetics and nuns in Hindu Fiction, *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. 44, p. 238 f; also *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol. VII, ch. cl. p. 138 f.

commentary refers to a female mendicant who successfully conveyed the love message of Rayanāvai to Bambhadatta.[104] We meet another female mendicant named Cokkhā who was versed in the four *Vedas* and various other scriptures. She preached religion based on charity and purity. Once she visited the harem of the king Kumbhaga where she was insulted by the princess. Cokkhā bore ill will against the princess and having gone to king Jiyasattu incited him to obtain her.[105]

The *Parivvāiyās* were learned in various arts, the application of various powders, spells, auspicious rites, use of various roots, pills, medicines and herbs. We are told that Pottilā visited the nun Suvvayā and enquired her if she was aware of any spell or love potion which could create love between her and her husband.[106]

104 13, p 192.
105 *Nāyā* 8, p 108-110
106 *ibid* 14, p. 152, *Niryā.* 3 p 347 f Cf. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol. III, ch. XXXII, p. 99 ff.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

The object of the ancient Indian system of education was the formation of character, the building up of personality, the preservation of ancient culture and the training of the rising generation in the performance of the social and religious duties.[1]

THE TEACHERS AND THE PUPILS

Teachers were highly respected in those early days. The *Rāyapaseniya* mentions three kinds of teachers: the teacher of arts (*kalāyariya*), the teacher of crafts (*sippāyariya*) and the teacher of religion (*dhammāyariya*). It is stated that the body of the first two teachers should be anointed with oil, flowers should be offered to them, they should be given a bath, dressed and decorated, they should be invited for feast and should be offered gifts and adequate wages that might reach their descendants. Similarly, religious teachers should be worshipped, fed and should be furnished with the necessary religious paraphernalia.[2] It is stated that a teacher must be fully qualified to teach his pupils. He must answer questions raised by his pupils without maintaining his relative superiority and he must not give irrelevant answers.[3]

The relations between the teacher and the student were cordial and the latter was to hold the former in deep reverence. It is said of a good pupil that he always pays attention to the teachings of the preceptor, asks questions, hears the answers, grasps its meaning, reflects upon it, ascertains its validity, retains its meaning and practises accordingly.[4] Further, a good pupil never disobeys his teacher or behaves roughly towards him; he never tells a lie and carries out his command like a thorough-bred horse. If he perceives the teacher in an angry mood he pacifies him by meekness, appeases him with folded hands and avows not to do wrong again. It is stated that a pupil should not sit by the side of the teacher, nor before him, nor behind him, he should never ask questions when sitting on a stool or his bed, but rising from his seat and coming near, he should ask him with folded hands.[5] There were bad pupils too. They got kicks (*khaddayā*) and blows (*caveḍā*) from their teachers. They were also beaten with sticks (*vaha*) and addressed with harsh words.[6] Bad students are compared with bad bullocks who break down through want of zeal. Such pupils, if

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[1] Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, p 326.
[2] *Ṭhā.* 3 135, cf *Manu* II, 225 ff
[3] *Āvā Nir.* 136, also see H. R. Kapadia, The Jain system of education, *J. U. B.*, Jan. 1940, p 206 f.
[4] *Āva. Nir* 22.
[5] *Uttarā.* 1, 13f, 12, 41, 18, 22.
[6] *ibid.* 38; also cf. *ibid*, 3, 65a; also cf. *Jātaka* (II, p. 279).

sent on an errand, did not do what they were asked to do, but strolled about wherever they liked. Sometimes, the teachers were tired of such pupils, they left them to their fate and retired to the forest.[7]

Pupils are also compared to a mountain, an earthen pot, a sieve, a filter, a royal swan, a buffalo, a ram, a mosquito, a leech, a cat, a pole-cat, a cow, a drum and an *Ābhīrī*,[8] each item showing the distinctive qualifications and disqualifications of the student world

STUDENT LIFE

The precise nature of lodging and boarding arrangements for students in ancient days is not well-known. But it seems that the students led a simple life. We know that some students stayed in the house of the teacher and others were fed by the rich people of the town.[9] There are instances when the good relations between the teacher and the disciple led to matrimonial connections.[10]

There were holidays when the school was closed External causes were responsible for frequent stopping of the work. Abnormal conditions giving rise to untimely clouds, thunder, lightening, heavy showers, frost, dust-storms, eclipse of the sun or the moon were instrumental in bringing about suspension of work. The studies were discontinued when the peace of the settlement was disturbed by fight between two armies or villages, or if there was a wrestling competition or if the local leader died. Then such trivial causes as the killing of a mouse by a cat, or the chance appearance of an egg on the road or the birth of a child in the locality,[11] where the school was situated, brought about a suspension of school work

Students were generously received when they returned home after completing their studies. We are told that when Rakkhia returned from Pāḍaliputta he was given a rousing reception by the state. The city was decorated with flags and banners etc. and Rakkhia was mounted on elephant and was greeted by the people. As a recognition of his attainments he was offered slaves, cattle and gold by the people.[12]

COURSE OF STUDY

The *Vedas*, which are represented as the earliest literature on India, must have been the main topics of study. The three *Vedas*, viz , *Riuvveya*,

7 *Uttarā.* 27. 8, 13, 16. Also see H. R. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-5.
8 *Āva. Nir* 139 , *Āva. cū* , pp. 121-4 , *Bṛh. Bhā. Pī* 334.
9 *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 8, p. 124.
10 Cf *ibid* , 18, p. 243 , cf *Mahāumagga Jātaka* (No. 546), VI, p 347.
11 *Vya Bhā.* 7·281-319 ; cf. *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, I 6. 144-53 , *Manu.* IV, 102 ff , also Altekar *op. cit.*, p. 105.
12 *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 2, p. 22 a.

Jauvveya and *Sāmaveya* are mentioned in the *Ṭhāṇāṅga*.[13] The following curriculum of study comprising the Vedic branches of learning are mentioned :— *Riuvveya*, *Jauvveya*, *Sāmaveya*, *Athavvaṇaveya*, *Itihāsa* (*Purāna*), the fifth *Veda*, *Nighaṇṭu*, the sixth *Veda*; six *Veāṅgas* comprising *saṅkhāṇa* (arithmetic), *sikkhā* (phonetics), *kappa* (ritual), *vāgarana* (grammar), *chanda* (metre), *nirutta* (exegesis), and *joisa* (astronomy-astrology) ; six *Upāngas*, which comprised further elaborations of the subjects dealt within the *Vedāngas* and *Satthitanta*, which was an authoritative treatise on the *Sāṁkhya* School.[14] The *Uttarādhyayana* commentary mentions the following fourteen subjects of study (*vijjaṭṭhāṇa*) :—four *Vedas*, six *Vedāṅgas*, *Mimāmsā*, *Nāya*, *Purāṇa* and *Dhammasattha*.[15]

Further, the *Anuyogadvāra*[16] and *Nandi*,[17] which are of late origin, mention the following works on popular learning (*laukika suya*). *Bhāraha*, *Rāmāyaṇa*[18], *Bhīmāsurukka* (or *o kkha*)[19], *Koḍillaya*,[20] *Ghodayamuha*,[21] *Sagaḍibhaddiāu*, *Kappāsia*, *Nāgasuhuma*, *Kanagasattari*,[22] *Vesiya*, *Vaisesiya*, *Buddhasāsana*, *Kavila*, *Logāyata*,[23] *Satthiyanta*, *Māḍhara*, *Purāna*, *Vāgaraṇa*, *Nāḍaga*, seventy two arts, and the four *Vedas* with *Aṅgas* and *Upaṅgas*. The *Nandi Sūtra* adds *Terāsiya*, *Bhāgava*, *Pāyañjali*, and *Pussadeva*.[24]

Then the *Thānāṅga* refers to the following evil scriptures (*pāpaśruta*) :—
1 science of portents indicating shower of blood or any unusual pheno-

13 3. 3. 185. According to Jain tradition the *Ārya Vedas* are said to have been composed by Bharaha and others which contained the laudation of the *Titthayaras*, the duties prescribed for laymen and monks, propitiatory deeds and the like, later on, Sulasā, Yājñavalkya, Tantugrīva and others composed the *Anārya Vedas* which are the present *Vedas* (*Āva. cū* 215, *Sūya. cū* p. 16) According to another tradition, however, the twelve *Angas* are called the *Vedas* (*Āva cū* 5, p 185).

14 *Bhag* 2 1, *Ovā* 38, p 172

15 3. p 56a. The *Milindapañha* (p 3) gives the following nineteen arts and sciences (*sippa*) (1) *suti* (holy tradition), (2) *sammuti* (secular law), (3) *sankhyā*, (4) *yogā*, (5) *nīti* (*nyāya*), (6) *visesikā*, (7) *ganikā* (arithmetic), (8) *gandhabbā* (music), (9) *tikiccā* (medicine), (10) *catubbedā*, (11) *purānā*, (12) *itihāsā*, (13) *jotisā*, (14) *māyā* (magic), (15) *hetu* (causation), (16) *mantanā* (polity), (17) *yuddha* (art of war), (18) *chandasā* (poetry) and (19) *muddā* (conveyancing); also cf *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, 1 3, *Mahābhā*, XII 122 31 also *Dīgha* I, p 88

16 Sū. 40 f

17 Sū 42, p 193 a

18 The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were recited or listened to during the earlier (*pūrvāhna*) or the latter part of the day (*aparāhna*) respectively Both are cited as examples of *Bhāvāvasyaka* a compulsory rite which must be done without fail (*Anu. Sū* 25).

19 *Bhambī* and *Āsurukkha* are referred to in the *Vya Bhā* (1, p 132) along with *Mādhara* and *Dandanīti* of Kodinna, which were important works on politics The *Gommatasāra Jīvakānda* (303, p 117) refers to *Ābhīya* and *Āsurukkha*, also cf *Mūlācāra* (5 60 f), also Supra, p 64

20 *Kodillaya* is also referred to as *Cānakkakoḍilla* (*Sūya cū* p. 208) The *Sūyagada* (9 17) mentions *Atthāvaya* which according to the commentator is the *Arthasāstra* by Cānakya and its study is prohibited to a Jain monk A Prākrt verse from the *Atthasattha* is quoted in the *Vasudevahindi* (p 45) and the *Ogha Niryukti* (p 152), which throws light on the existence of *Arthasāstra* in Prakrt. *Kotalla* is also mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* (LXIV 3)

21 *Ghotakamukha* is mentioned as a politician in the *Arthasāstra* (p. 282) ; also *Kāmasūtra* (p 188), also see *Majjhima* II, pp. 157 ff

22 It is same as *Sāmkhyakārikā of* Isvarakṛṣna (H R. Kapadia, The *Canonical Literature of the Jainas, p.* 163).

23 *Lokāyatam* is also mentioned in the *Dīgha*. (I, p. 11).

24 su. 42.

memon boding calamity in the country (*uppāya*), 2 science of omens (*nimitta*), 3 science of spells and magic (*manta*), 4 low type of charm which causes *Cāṇḍālīs* to utter oracles (*āikkhiya*), 5 science of medicine (*tegicchiya*), 6 seventy two arts (*kalā*), 7 science of architecture (*āvarana*), 8 popular works such as *Bhārata*, *Kāvya*, *Nāṭaka*, etc (*annāna*), and 9 false scripture such as the teachings of Buddha etc. (*micchāpavayaṇa*).[25]

SEVENTY TWO *KALĀS* [26]

Seventy two *kalās* are frequently mentioned in the Jain texts.[27] The list contains the *sippas* and also the list of traditional knowledge and sciences It does not mean that everybody acquired proficiency in all these branches. The acquirement of these sciences was an aim which could seldom be achieved. These *kalās* may be classified as under :—

1 Reading and writing which comprised writing (*leha*) and arithmetic (*gaṇiya*).

2 Poetry which included verse-making (*porekavva*), the knowledge of *Āryā* verses (*Ajjā*), riddles (*paheliyā*), *Māgadhī* composition (*Māgadhiyā*), *Gāthā* composition, ballad-making (*gīiya*), and *śloka*-making (*siloya*)

3 Sculpture (*rūva*).

4 Music which comprised dancing (*naṭṭa*), singing (*gīya*), instrumental music (*vāiya*), vocal music (*saragaya*), drum music (*pukkharagaya*), and timing in music

5 Clay-modelling which included the knowledge of clays (*dagamaṭṭiya*)

6 Gambling, sports and indoor games which comprised gambling (*jūya*), *janavāya* (a kind of gambling), playing at dice (*pāsaya*), chess playing (*aṭṭhāvaya*), making dolls and figures etc. moved by pulling strings (*suttakheḍa*),[28] a game of whirligigs (*vattha*) and *nālikākheḍa* (a kind of dice).

7 Personal hygiene, toilet and food. They constituted the rules of food (*annavihi*), drink (*pāna*), dress (*vattha*), toilet (*vilevana*), and bed (*sayaṇa*), knowledge of wearing ornaments of silver (*hiraṇṇajutti*), gold (*suvanna*), and other ornaments (*ābharaṇavihi*), preparation of powders (*cunnajutti*)[29]

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[25] 9 678, also see *Sūya* II 2 30; cf *Sammohavinodanī* (p. 490) where *Bhāratayuddha* and *Sītāharanādi* are spoken as *pāpakam sutam*

[26] For twelve *sippas* such as *hatthi*, *assa*, *ratha*, *dhanu*, *tharu*, *muddā*, *ganana*, *sankhāna*, *lekhā*, *kāveyya*, *lokāyata* and *khattavijja*, see *Paramatthadīpanī*, the com on the *Udāna*, p 205

[27] See *Nāyā*, i, p 21, *Sama* p 77a, *Ovā* 40; *Rāya Sū*, 211, *Jambu Ṭī* 2, p 136 f, *Bhagwān Mahāvīra nī Dharmakathāo*, p 193 ff, Amulyachandra Sen, Social Life in Jain Literature, *Calcutta Review*, March 1933, p 364 f, D C Das Gupta, *Jain System of Education*, p 74 f Cal 1942; also see *Kādambarī* (p 126) Kale ed; *Dasakumāra carita*, p 66; *Divyāvadāna*, pp 58, 100, 391

[28] *Sūtrakrīdā* is mentioned in the *Kuṭṭinīmata* (vs. 124).

[29] *Gandhayukti* is mentioned in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (VIII, 13) and the *Lalitavistara* (see E. G Thomas's article in the *Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 515-7).

and means of improving the complexion of damsels (*tarunipaḍikamma*), preparing ornamental designs from leaves (*pattacchejja*),[30] decorating the temple (*kadacchejja*).

8 Knowledge of various marks and signs such as distinguishing marks (*lakkhaṇa*) of men,[31] women, horses,[32] elephants,[33] kine,[34] cocks,[35] umbrellas,[36] slaves, swords,[37] gems[38] and *Kākinī* jewel

9 The Science of omens, which comprised the knowledge of notes of birds.[39]

10 Astronomy, which included the movement (*cāra*) and countermovement (*paḍicāra*) of stars

11 Alchemy, which comprised the preparation of gold (*suvannapāga*), silver (*hiranna*), reverting the killed metals to their natural state (*sajīva*), and killing of the metals such as gold etc (*nijjīva*) [40]

12 Architecture, which comprised the science of building (*vatthuvijjā*), measurement of camps (*khandhāramāna*), and cities (*nagaramāna*).

13 Art of fighting, which comprised fighting (*juddha*), wrestling (*nijuddha*), heavy fighting (*juddhātijuddha*), menacing glances (*diṭṭhijuddha*), fist-fighting (*muṭṭhi*), arm-fighting (*bāhu*), clapsed -fighting (*layā*), knowledge of arrows (*īsattha*), sword playing (*charuppavāya*), archery (*dhanuvveya*), formation of array (*vūha*), counterarray (*paḍivūha*), wheel-formation (*cakkavūha*), eagle-formation (*garuḍa*), and cart-formation (*sagaḍa*) [41]

CENTRES OF LEARNING

Capitals, holy places, monasteries and temples were the centres of education in ancient India. Kings and feudal chiefs were, as a rule, patrons of learning Various capitals of prosperous kingdoms, which used to attract many a man of learning and thus become centres of education are mentioned in the Jain texts Benares was the chief centre of learning.

30 *Patracchedya* is mentioned in the *Kuṭṭinīmata* (vs 236), also *Kādambarī*, *op cit* where it is translated as "the art of painting figures on walls or the ground" (Kale) However, according to Cowell, it is the breaking and cutting of leaves (see E G Thomas's abovementioned article)

31 Cf *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, ch 67

32 Cf *ibid*, ch 65

33 Cf *ibid*, ch 66

34 Cf *ibid*, ch 60

35 Cf *ibid*, ch 62

36 Cf *ibid*, ch 72

37 Cf *ibid*, ch 49, also *Asilakkhana Jātaka* (No 126), I, p 455

38 Cf *ibid*, ch 79

39 Cf *ibid*, ch 87 "*Sarvabhūtaruta*" is mentioned in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda (p 32)

40 The *Caraka* and the *Susruta* give various formulas for killing the metals Killed metal sometimes means a metal deprived of its well-characterised physical properties, i e, colour, lustre, etc, P C Ray, *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol I, Calcutta, 1904, p 62 However, cf *Dasakumāracarita* (2, p 66) for *sajīva* and *nirjīva*, Kale's edition, Bombay, 1925

41 For a comparison between seventy two arts of the Jains and those of sixty four of the *Kāmasūtra* (I iii), see Bechardas, *Mahāvīra ni Dharmakathāo*, p. 193 f; also cf. sixty four arts of women described in the *Jambuddīva* commentary, 2, p. 139f; also Dr. Venkatasubbiah, The Kalas, *J. R. A S*, 1914

It is stated that the prince Agaḍadatta of Saṅkhapura went there to study. He stayed in the house of his teacher and after completing the course of study returned home.[42] Sāvatthī is mentioned as another centre of education.[43] Pāḍaliputta is mentioned as still another seat of learning. It is mentioned that, when Rakkhia of Dasapura could not study further in his town, he proceeded to Pāḍaliputta for higher studies.[44] Paiṭṭhāṇa is mentioned as a centre of learning in the south.[45]. It is however significant to remark that Takkhasilā, which is the most important seat of learning in the Buddhist scriptures, is not mentioned here.

OTHER CENTRES

Education was also imparted in the *upāśrayas* and the *vasatis* of the monks, which specialised in imparting instruction in the traditional learning by distinguished teachers (*uvajjhāya*). Besides teaching the twelve *aṅgas*, grammar (*sadda*), logic (*hetussattha*), philosphy, erotics and the science of casting spells[46] were also taught.

Every religious order of the *samanas* was a travelling school The furtherance of the cause of truth and knowledge in all branches of learning by open discussions was a remarkable feature of their educational and cultural activities. We read in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* that there were assemblies of disputants (*vādapurisā*) where intricate discussions were held between the Jain monks and other ascetics, particularly the Buddhists If the disputant was weak in logic or philosophy, he was asked to go to another *gaṇa* to study further. After completing the studies, he came back, defeated his opponent and propagated the cause of religion.[47] We hear of an eccentric mendicant, who tied his belly with an iron-plate and holding a branch of the *jambu* tree, roamed about. He told people that to check the bursting of his belly with knowledge he had tied the iron-plate, and the branch of the *jambu* tree signified that there was nobody in Jambuddīva who could face him in argumentation.[48]

Among the popular teachers of piety and morality mention may be made of the ballad-reciters and the story-tellers (*kāhiya*) through whom the profound truths of philosophies permeated even to the lowest stratum of society. Their preachings were enlivened by quotation of various stories, fables, legends and recitation of songs and riddles (*chalitakāvya*).[49]

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42 *Uttarā.* *Ṭī* 4, p. 83 af.
43 *Ibid.* 8, p. 124
44 *Ibid.* 2, p 22 a.
45 *Kalpa.* *Ṭī* 4, p. 90a , also see D. C. Das Gupta, *op. cit* , p. 20 f. For the Buddhist education in the *Jātakas* see Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee's article in the *Buddhistic studies*, pp. 236 ff.
46 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4 5179 ; 5431 ; *Vya Bhā* 1, p 57 af
47 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4. 5425-31.
48 *Uttarā* *Ṭī.* 3, 72 , cf. also the com on the *Sutta Nipāta* (ii, p. 538 ff) ; also *Cullakāliṅga Jātaka* (No. 301), III, pp. 1ff.
49 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1 ,2564.

CHAPTER V

ARTS AND SCIENCES

(1) WRITING

The art of writing was known in ancient India.[1] We have seen that *lekha* occurs in the list of seventy two arts. The *Rāyapaseṇi* refers to various kinds of writing materials and accessories such as *pattaga* (leaves), *kambiyā* (wooden board), *dora* (thread), *ganthi* (knots), *lippāsaṇa* (ink-pot), *chandaṇa* (lid), *saṅkalā* (chain), *masi* (ink), *lehaṇī* (pen), *akkhara* (letters) and *potthaya* (book).[2] *Lehāyariya* (*lekhācārya*, teacher) is mentioned in the *Āvaśyaka Bhāsya*,[3] and in the *Cūrni*[4]

The commentary on the *Samavāyānga* refers to writing, engraving, sewing and weaving of letters on materials such as leaves,[5] bark, wood, ivory, iron, copper[6] and silver and forming them by cutting the material, burning it, breaking it, and joining one with another (*saṅkramana*).[7]

We hear of *Cakravartins* writing their names on the mountain with *Kākiṇī* jewel.[8] We also meet the caravans which during the course of their journey used to make signs and marks on stones etc.[9]

We have referred to sending of letters (*leha*) to the enemy before entering into actual warfare Love-letters,[10] sealed letters,[11] and forged letters[12] (*kūtalekha*) were also known.

THE EIGHTEEN *LIVIS*

The following *livis* or scripts are mentioned :—

(1) *Bambhī*, (2) *Javaṇāliyā* or *Javanāniyā*, (3) *Dosāuriā*, (4) *Kharotthiā*, (5) *Pukkharasāriā*, (6) *Paharāiā*, (7) *Uccattariā*,[13] (8) *Akkharaputṭ-*

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1 According to Dr. Gauri Shankar Ojha, writing in India goes back to the 5th century B C. (*Bhāratiya Prāchina Lipimālā*, p 2 ff)

2 Su 131 , *Āva Ti* (Hari.), p. 384 a. *Gandī*, *kacchavi*, *muṭṭhi*, *samputaphalaka* and *chedapāṭī* are mentioned as five types of *potthaya* (*Bṛh Bhā* 3·3822) For a detailed description of these see Muni Punyavijayaji's scholarly monograph, *Jain Citrakalpadruma* , also Prof H. R. Kapadia's Outlines of Palaeography in *J U. B* , Vol. VI, pt. VI, p 87 ff , also Ojha, *op cit.*, pp 4-6, 142-158.

3 76 (*Niryukti Dīpikā*, I, p. 90a).

4 p. 248.

5 Writing on *bhujjapatta* is referred to in the *Āva cū.* p 530. The material on which the signs have been traced in Babylon was clay. They were traced in India on leaves or on pieces of bark These were mere scratchings, and ink was not used, Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p 117

6 The *Vasudevahindī* (p 189) mentions of writing a book on the copper leaf.

7 p. 78.

8 *Jambu* 3 54 ; for references in the Buddhist literature see Rhys Davids, ***Buddhist India***, p. 108

9 *Āva. Tī* (Hari.), p. 384a.

10 *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 13, p. 191 a.

11 *Bṛh. Bhā Pī.* 195 ; *Nisī cū.*, 5, p 87 (MSS)

12 *Uvā.* 1, p. 10.

13 According to the *Paṇṇa* (1 55a), we have *Antakkhariyā*, *Uyantarikkhiyā* or *Uyantarakariyā* in place of *Uccattariā*, and *Āyāsa* in place of *Ādamsa*, Punyavijaya, *Jain citrakalpa.*, p. 6.

hiyā, (9) *Bhogavayatā*, (10) *Veṇatiyā*, (11) *Niṇhaiyā*, (12) *Anka livi*, (13) *Gaṇia livi*, (14) *Gandhavva livi—Bhūya livi*, (15) *Ādamsa livi*, (16) *Māhesarī livi*, (17) *Dāmilī livi* and (18) *Polindī livi*.[14]

BRĀHMI AND *KHAROSṬRĪ* SCRIPTS

Brāhmī and *Kharoṣṭrī* are the two most important scripts mentioned in the Jain and Buddhist texts.[15] The former was written from left to right and the latter from right to left. The *Kharoṣṭrī* alphabet was introduced overland into the extreme north west of India about 500 B.C. and was used locally in *Gandhāra*. Later on, gradually *Kharoṣṭrī* disappeared from India and was replaced by *Brāhmī* from which all other alphabets used in India have evolved. Buhler has adopted the designation *Brāhmī* for the characters in which the majority of the Asoka edicts are written According to him, the *Brāhmī* alphabet has been formed by phonologist or grammarians for scientific use.[16]

In Jain texts *Bambhī* occupies the first and fundamental place in the enumeration of the eighteen *livis* to which homage is paid in the beginning of the *Bhavagatī*.[17] According to the *Samavāyānga*, *Bāmbhī livi* comprises forty six *māuyakkharas* (*mātṛkākṣaras*) or the original letters excluding four liquid vowels, *viz.* Ṛ (ऋ), Ṝ (ॠ), Ḷ (ऌ), Ḹ (ॡ), and L (ळ).[18]

It is stated that *Bambhī* was not only a specific name of a script but a generic name which stood for the eighteen scripts mentioned above [19]

The rest of the *livis* seem to have disappeared and no trace of these has been found so far.

LANGUAGE

As we have seen among various classes of *Āryans*, *Bhāsāriyas* or the *Āryans* by language are mentioned. It is said that they spoke *Ardhamāgadhī* and knew the *Brāhmī* script [20]

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14 The *Viseṣā Tī* (V 464) mentions the following eighteen *livis* (1) *Hamsa livi*, (2) *Anka livi*, (3) *Jakkhī*, (4) *Rakkhasī*, (5) *Uddī*, (6) *Javanī*, (7) *Turukki*, (8) *Kīrī*, (9) *Davidī*, (10) *Sindhaviyā*, (11) *Mālavinī*, (12) *Nadī*, (13) *Nāgarī*, (14) *Lāda livi*, (15) *Pārasī*, (16) *Animitti*, (17) *Cānakkī* and (18) *Mūladevī*. For some of these *livis* such as *Anka livi*, *Nāgarī*, *Cānakkī* and *Mūladevī* see Punyavijaya, *op cit* , p 6 f note The other lists of the *livis* are given by Lāvanyasamayagani in his *Vimalaprabandha* (p 123) and Lakṣmīvallabha Upādhyāya in his commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*, (H R Kapadia, *op cit* , p. 94).

15 The *Lalitavistara* (p 125f) mentions sixty four *livis*, the first two being *Brāhmī* and *Kharoṣṭhī*

16 Ojha, *op cit* pp. 17-36, 1, 4 , Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p 124.

17 According to Muni Punyavijayaji, it commemorates the fact that the Jain *Āgamas* were first written in the *Brāhmī* script, *op cit* , p. 5

18 Dr Gaurishankar Ojha admits *Kṣa* as an alternative for L (ळ), *op. cit.*, p. 46

19 According to Muni Punyavijayaji, however, all the eighteen *lipis* are not necessarily the varieties of *Bambhī* (*ibid.* p. 5).

20 *Paṇṇa.* 1. 37.

It is stated that Mahāvīra preached his religion in *Ardhamāgadhī*.[21] The Jain saints are said to have preached in this language for the benefit of women, children, old men and illiterate people.[22] The Jain authors, however, explain the term *Ardhamāgadhī* differently. According to the *Nisītha cūrṇi*,[23] *Ardhamāgadhī* either was the language of half of Magadha or it comprised the eighteen kinds of *Desībhāsā*.

It may be noted, however, that Hemacandra in his *Prākrta Vyākarana* deals with *Prākrta*, *Śaurasenī*, *Māgadhī*, *Paiśācī* and *Apabhraṁśa* languages, but not with *Ardhamāgadhī* or *Ārsa Prākrta*. Haribhadra sūri also quotes a verse in his commentary on the *Dasaveyāliya*[24] which indicates that the language of the Jain Canons was known as *Prākrta* and not *Ardhamāgadhī*. However, it must be admitted that the language of the present Jain Canons has undergone considerable changes and should be considered different from that in which the canons were originally composed.[25]

(2) MATHEMATICS, ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY

The Jains have memorable achievements in secular sciences, such as mathematics, astronomy and astrology. The *Suriyapannatti* and the *Candapannatti*, the fifth and the seventh *Upāṅgas* of the Jain Canon respectively, deal with astronomy, the latter being completely identical with the former. The *Suriyapannatti* deals with various astronomical views of the Jains such as the orbits which the sun circumscribes during the year, the rising and the setting of the sun, the speed of the course of the sun through each of its 184 cubits, the light of the sun and moon, the measure of the shadow at various seasons of the year, the connection of the moon with the lunar mansions (*naksatra*), the waxing and waning of the moon, the velocity of the five kinds of heavenly bodies (the sun, the moon, planets, *naksatras* and *tārās*), the qualities of the moon light, the number of suns in Jambudvīpa, etc.[26] *Vivāhapadala* was another work on astrology.[27] Then we had *Joṇipāhuḍa*[28] and *Cūḍāmani*[29] dealing with astrology.

[21] *Sama* p 57, also *O ā sū* 34, p 146

[22] *Ācā cū* 7, p 235 According to the Jain mythology, the preachings of Mahāvīra in *Ardhamāgadhī* were understood by all alike without any distinction whatsoever, (*Sama* p 57), cf *Vibhanga* com (387f) where it is stated that if children grow up without being taught any language, they will spontaneously use the Magadha language, it is spread all over *nirya*, among, lower animals *petas*, human beings and *devas*

[23] 11, p 733 According to Hemacandra, the main characteristic of *Māgadhī* noticed in *Ardhamāgadhī* is the termination 'e' in nominative singular in masculine (*Prākrta Vyakarana*, sū 287), also *Bhag* 5 4, *O a sū* *Ti*, 34

[24] p 203

[25] See Pt Bechardas's article on Ardhamāgadhī Bhāsā in the *Purātattva* 3 4 p 346, also *Gujarāti Bhasā ni Utkranti* pp 107-20, Bombay 1943, also B V Bapat, *I H Q*, 1928, p 23, A B Keith, the Home of Pali, *Buddhistic Studies*, pp 728ff

[26] Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol II, p 457, also see Thibaut, Astronomic Astrologic and Mathematic in Buhler-Kielhorn's Groundress der Indo-Arischen Philologie, *J A S B*, Vol 49, pt I 1880, Sukumar Ranjan Das, School of Astronomy, *I H Q*, Vol VIII, pp 30ff, and 565 ff For the knowledge of astronomy among the Buddhists see Dr F J Thomas's article Sun, Moon, and Stars (Buddhists, in Hasting's *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*).

[27] *Nisī cū* 12, p 854.

[28] *Brh Bhā* 1. 1303.

[29] *Ibid.* 1. 1313.

The knowledge of astronomy was considered necessary to find the time and place for the religious ceremonies.[30] *Saṅkhāna* (arithmetic) and *joisa* (astronomy) are mentioned in the *Bhagavatī*[31] and the *Uttarādhyayana*[32] and are included among the fourteen branches of learning stated above.

The early Jain and Buddhist texts provide ample testimony to the progress made by *jyotiṣa*. The science was otherwise known as *nakkhatta-vijjā*.[32a] The experts in *joisa* were required to make forecasts of all coming events. It is said that Mahāvīra was versed in arithmetic and astronomy.[33] Arithmetic (*ganiya*) is counted among the seventy two arts already referred to, which is said to have been taught by Usabha to Sundarī.[34] *Ganita* is also described as one of the four expositions of the principle (*anuyoga*) in the Jain texts.[35] The *Thānānga* mentions ten kinds of science of numbers, *viz* *parikamma* (fundamental operation), *vavahāra* (subject of treatment), *rajju* ("rope" meaning geometry), *rāsi* ("heap" meaning measurement of solid bodies), *kalāsavanna* (fractions), *jāvam tāvam* ("as may as" meaning simple equations), *vagga* ("square" meaning quadratic equation), *ghana* ("cube" meaning cubic equation), *vaggavagga* (liquidratic equation) and *vikappa* (permutation and combination).[36]

(3) MEDICINES, DISEASES AND TREATMENT

Āyurveda is defined as the science and art of life. It deals with life in all its phases—philosophical and biological—and comprises both preventive and curative medicine and surgery It is the great healing art of ancient India which aims at giving us "a happy and benevolent life" by showing the ways and means to it.[37]

The science of Medicine (*tegicchaya* or *āyuvveya*), which is counted among the nine false sciences (*pāvasuya*) in the Jain texts,[38] is said to have been discovered by Dhannantari.[39] Dhannantari was well-versed in the medical science which comprises eight branches : Pediatrics (*kumāra-bhicca*), surgery and midwifery (*salāga*), the treatment of eye, ear, nose and throat (*sallahattha*), the treatment of bodily diseases (*kāyatigicchā*),

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30 *Jambu Ti* p 2, cf *Digha* I p 10f where the study of astronomy and other arts is condemned by Buddha to the monks

31 2 1.

32 25 7, 36.

32a *Das sū* 8 5.

33 *Kalpa*. 1. 10

34 *Āva cū*, p 156.

35 *Das cū* p 2

36 10. 747, Bibhutibhusan Datta, The Jaina School of Mathematics, The *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, Vol XXI, p 115ff, 1929, also Sukumar Ranjan Das, A short Chronology of Indian Astronomy, *I H Q* 1931, H R Kapadia, Introduction to *Ganitatilaka* (G O S No LXXVIII), D M Roy *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1926-7, pp 145 ff

37 The Spirit and Culture of Āyurveda, p 411f, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol III

38 *Thā* 9. 678.

39 *Nisī cū* 15, p. 944, cf. *Milindapañha*, p. 272, also *Ayoghara Jātaka* (No. 510). IV, pp 496, 498.

toxicology (*jangola*), demonology (*bhūyavijjā*), the science and art of restoring health in old age (*rasāyaṇa*) and sexual rejuvenation (*vājīkarana* or *khāratanta*).[40]

The physicians carried their bags of surgical instruments[41] (*satthakosa*) and gave various treatment according to the nature of the disease by treating the patient by methods such as rubbing with oil (*abbhaṅga*), rubbing with powder (*uvvattaṇa*), oil drinks (*siṇehapāna*), vomitting (*vamaṇa*) purging, (*vireyaṇa*), branding (*avaddahana*), medicated baths (*avaṇhāṇa*), oil enema (*aṇuvāsaṇā*), head bath (*batthikamma*), purging by drugs (*nirūha*), opening veins (*sirāveha*), cutting (*tacchana*), scrapping (*pacchana*), bathing the head with oils (*sirobatthi*), nourishing the body with oils (*tappana*), by means of ingredients roasted on fire by *putapāka* method, barks, roots, bulbs, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, bitters (*silikā*), pills, drugs (*osaha*) and mixtures (*bhesajja*).[42]

We are told how a Jain monk, when suffering from sickness, should procure the services of a physician It is said that the physician was to be approached in an auspicious moment and his advice was to be carefully followed. Sometimes, the sick persons were taken to the physician's residence. After examining the case, the *vaidya* made a diagnosis and suggested appropriate treatment and diet. If a *vaidya* was brought to the home of the patient he was provided with a hot bath and other comforts. He was to be fed on old rice and was provided with costly utensils. After the examination the physician was to be given his proper fees.[43]

There were state physicians as well It is said that once a physician did not treat the queen of a certain king properly and so he was put to death [44] Another physician was addicted to gambling and he did not attend to his work His book on medicine was stolen by robbers and his surgical instruments rusted When this was brought to the notice of the king, he stopped his salary [45]

Hospitals (*tigicchayasālā*) are freely mentioned The *Nāyādhammakahā* mentions that a hospital was built on hundred pillars where a number of physicians and surgeons were employed who treated various kinds of patients with various kinds of medicines and herbs.[46]

The *Ācārānga* mentions the following sixteen diseases boils (*gandī*), leprosy (*kuṭṭha* of eighteen kinds),[47] consumption (*rāyamsī*), epilepsy (*avamāriya*), blindness (*kāṇiya*), stiffness (*jhimiya*), lameness (*kuṇiya*),

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[40] *Vivā* 7 p. 41 , also cf *Susruta Samhitā*. ch 1. 8, p 4f

[41] The following instruments are mentioned *angulisatthaya*, *sirāvehasatthaya*, *pacchana*, *kappana*, *lohakantiyā*, *sandāsaa*, *anuvehasalāgā*, *viimuha* and *sūimuha* (*Nisī cū*. 11, p 701.)

[42] *Vivā*. 1, p. 8.

[43] *Bṛh Bhā* 1. 1910-70, cf. for a similar description *Susruta Samhitā*, ch. 29. *sū*. 13 p. 175 ff.

[44] *Bṛh*. *Bhā* pī. 376.

[45] *Vya*. *Bhā*. 5 21.

[46] 13. p. 143.

[47] For eighteen kinds of *kuṣṭha* also see *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, Nidānasthāna, 5. 4-5, p. 342 , *Caraka*, ch. 7, pp. 2069-73.

humpback (*khujiya*), dropsy (*udari*), dumbness (*mūya*), swelling (*sūniya*), over-appetite (*gilāsaṇi*), trembling (*vevai*), disablement (*pīḍhasappi*), elephantiasis (*silīvaya*) and diabetes (*madhumeha*).[48]

The following are mentioned as the causes of diseases. Over-eating, eating unwholesome food, over-sleeping, over-walking, checking calls of nature, travelling, irregularity of food, and indulgence in sexual intercourse.[49]

Meat and wine were freely prescribed as diet by physicians[50] The practice of using skin with or without hair (*saloma-nilloma*) for the Jain monks and nuns is pretty old and is referred to in the *Brhatkalpa sūtra*. It is laid down that if a nun suffered from flatulence (*uddhavāta*) or from paralysis (*dhaṇuggāha*), or from piles or from acute pain, or her hand or foot was dislocated, or her whole or a part of the body was affected by 'wind', she was made to lie down on a skin[51] Similarly, if her waist or hand was affected by rheumatism (*vāta*) the skin of a hyena (*taraccha*) was wrapped around the affected part, and if she were bitten by a dog she was made to lie down on a tiger skin (*dīvicamma*).[52] In the same way the hairless skin was prescribed for the Jain monks, who suffered from bad leprosy (*galantakoḍha*), piles, *kacchu*[53] or *kiḍibha* (a kind of leprosy).[54] Droppings of a ram and cow urine were used to cure leprosy known as *pāmā*[55] The leg of a vulture was tied to cure paralysis (*vāyu*); the teeth and the nails of the bear and the hair of the ram were also used for similar purposes[56] Then *gosīsa* sandal was used to cure leprosy full of maggots (*kimikuttha*).[57]

The drinking of urine (*moya*) was another old practice described in the *Brhatkalpa sūtra*.[58] The Jain monks and the nuns drank each other's (*annamannassa*) urine to cure snake-bite,[59] cholera and fever The mud

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48 6. 1. 173 Cf the list in the *Vivā* (1, p 7) asthama (*sāsa*), cough (*kāsa*), fever (*jara*), inflamation (*dāha*), intestinal colic (*kucchisūla*), fistula (*bhagandara*), piles (*arisā*), indigestion (*ajīraa*), optic neuralgia (*diṭṭhisūla*), cerebral neuralgia (*muddhasūla*), loss of appetite (*akāraya*), pain in th eye (*acchiveyanā*), pain in the ear (*kaṇṇaveyanā*), itches (*kaṇḍu*), and dropsy (*uyara*) The *Jambu* (*Sū* 24, p 120) adds family disease (*kularoga*), village disease (*gāma*), country disease (*mandala*), pain in the lips (*oṭṭhaveyanā*), pain in the nose (*nakkaveyanā*), toothache (*dantaveyanā*), jaundice (*panduroga*), intermitent fever coming at the interval of one, two, three or four days (*egāhia*, *beāhia*, *teāhia*, *cautthāhia*), obsession by Indra (*Indaggaha*), paralysis (*dhanuggaha*), obsession by Skanda (*khandaggaha*), Kumāra (*kumāraggaha*), heartache (*hiyayasūla*), stomachache (*poṭṭasūla*) vaginal pain, (*jonisūla*), and pestilence (*māri*), also *Nisī cū* II, p 737 f *Jīvā* 3, p 153, *Bhag* (Abhaya), 3 6, p 353, also cf Law B. C, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 281. Also see *Mahābhārata*, III 230, 44 ff

49 *Thā* 9 667 Compare ten causes of disease in the *Milindapañha*, *p* 135

50 Cf. *Vivā* 7, *Nāyā* 5, p 80, cf also *Mahāvagga*, VI, 10 2 where in the cace of a disease not human, Buddha allowed them the use of raw flesh and blood

51 3 3-6, *Bhā* 3839-41.

52 *Bṛh Bhā* 3816-18

53 *Kacchu* is also mentioned in the *Dhammapada* A. I, p 299.

54 *Brh Bhā*. 3839-40

55 *Ogha*. p 134 a.

56 *Ibid*. p 134 a; also *Pinda*. *Nir*. 48 ff.

57 *Āva*. *cū* p 133.

58 5. 37.

59 In Buddhist texts in case of snake biting four kinds of filth were given: dung, urines, ashes and clay; *Mahāvagga*, VI. 14·6.

from the ant-hill, salt, gold and incantations were other means to cure snake-bite [60] Water was sprinkled over the blisters caused by the spider and snake-bite.[61] The fly dropping was used in case of vomitting, and the horse-fly (*āsamakkhiyā*) to remove dirt from the eye [62] There were pills to cure eye-sore [63] Flesh was used to cure fistula and in its absence rice powder (*kaṇikkā*) mixed with honey and *ghee* was used [64] For madness, it is stated that if a monk or a nun became mad, they were tied gently and were kept in a room or a well without water [65] A novel method of curing the madness of a nun due to her attachment to the sexual part of a person is mentioned A slave was made drunk and made to sleep. His body besmeared with vomit, attracted flies, seeing which the nun was cured of her obsession [66]

Besides, various oils such as *hamsatella*, *satapāgatella*, *sahassapāgatella* and *marutella* are mentioned in Jain canonical literature [67]

Sores were healed by applying oil, *ghee* and powder, by bandaging the injured parts and by stitching them properly. In the battle field the physicians carried these articles with them [68] The fringe of the garments was used in case a monk was suffering from carbuncle (*visakumbha*).[69]

Pearl oysters (*suktikā*) were used for storing medicine.[70]

Besides medicinal treatment, surgical operations also seem to have been carried out We read that once a fish bone (*maccha-kaṇtaka*) stuck into the throat of a fisherman ; the surgeons were called. They tried to extract the bone with an instrument (*salla*) and tried other means but could not succeed.[71]

Lastly, the knowledge of physical science was not confined only to human beings, but it was also applied to animals. We read in the *Nisītha cūrṇi* how a thorn was extracted from the body of a horse.[72]

(4) ARCHERY

The science of archery (*dhanuvveya*) was highly advanced in ancient India and heroism in this country is invariably associated with proficiency

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60 *Nisī cū Pī.* pp 58, 121 , *Ogh* pp. 129a, 134 a.
61 *Ogh.* p 129 a
62 *Ibid.* p 134 a.
63 *Bṛh Bhā.* 1. 1277.
64 *Nisī. cū.,* p. 89
65 *Vya. Bhā* 2. 122-5.
66 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 6 6267.
67 *Nisī. cū. Pī.* p 109 , *Bṛh. Bhā* 5. 6031.
68 *Vya. Bhā.* 5·100-103 , cf *Arthasāstra*, p 397.
69 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3 3907.
70 *Ogh. Nir.* p. 134 a.
71 *Vivā* 8, p 48 ; also *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1051. That medical science including, surgery was fairly developed in ancient India, is revealed from the stories of the physician Jīvaka told in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, pp. 27-43.
72 p. 1244 ; cf. also *Susruta Saṃhitā*, 26. 13, p. 163.

in this art.[73] *Dhanuvveya* and *isattha*, as the sciences of archery, are counted among the seventy two arts, as we have already seen. We have seen hunters running here and there with bow and arrow in their hand in search of a forest-animal. The archer took the bow, chose a suitable position, pulled it up to the ear and shot the arrow. Various terms such as the back of the bow (*dhanupittha*), bow-string (*jīvā*), gut (*ṇhāru*), arrow (*usu*),[74] and awl-tipped arrow (*ārāmuha*)[75] are mentioned. Shooting at a sound without seeing (*saddavehī*) is mentioned.[76]

It was compulsory for princes to acquire proficiency in the science of archery We come across various kings and princes who were adepts in this science. Reference has been made to king Cedaga who was a skilful archer. He used to shoot one arrow a day which proved fatal for the enemy. Cedaga's charioteer also was an adept in archery and is said to have killed thirty two warriors with one arrow.[77] Jarākumāra was another expert marksman who is said to have shot dead Kaṇhavāsudeva by his arrow.[78] Then Agaḍadatta is described as another shooter versed in the science of archery.[79] We also come across Jain monks who were experts in archery (*kayakaraṇa*) and who, at the time of difficulty, fought with the enemy and saved the *Saṅgha* [80]

Proficiency in archery was greatly prized and we hear of the prince Surindadátta who obtained a princess by shooting an effigy that stood on an axle to which were attached eight wheels [81] We are told that a shepherd who perforated the foliage of a bunyan tree with his small bow (*dhaṇuhiyā*), at the command of a prince shot through the eyes of the king, and was offered a village in reward.[82]

(5) MUSIC AND DANCING

The people of ancient India loved music as we have already seen Not only kings and nobles were surrounded with musicians and dancers but even ordinary people loved singing and dancing or hearing and witnessing others doing so. The seventy two arts, referred to above, included the arts of dancing (*naṭṭa*), singing(*gīta*), vocal music (*saragaya*), instrumental music (*vāditta*), drum music (*pukkharagaya*), and timing in music (*samatāla*), which shows that music and dancing were widely cultivated in ancient India.[83]

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73 *Dhanurmaha* is mentioned as a festival by *Bhāsa*, Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, *Bhāsa—A study*, Lahore, 1940, p. 440 f.
74 *Bhag.* 5 6.
75 *Uttarā.* *Ṭī.* 4, p. 89.
76 *Nāyā.* 18, p. 208 , also cf. *Sarabhanga Jātaka* (*No.* 522), V, p. 129.
77 *Āva.* *cū.* II, p. 173.
78 *Uttarā.* *Ṭī.* 1, p. 40.
79 *Ibid.* 4, p. 89.
80 See supra, 166 , cf *Nisī.* *cū.* *pī.* p. 146.
81 See supra, p. 168 f.
82 *Uttarā.* *Ṭī* 5, p. 102 a ; cf. *Dhammapada A* II, p. 69
83 For characteristics of Indian music, see Coomaraswamy's *The Dance of Śiva*, pp. 72-81.

On the occasions of feasts and festivals we come across men and women dancing and making merry We have seen, during the festival of the god of Love in Vānārasī how Citta and Sambhūya, who were versed in the art of singing and dancing, captivated the heart of the citizens, specially of the womenfolk, by playing on *tisaraya*, *venu* (flute) and *vīnā* (lute).[84] Udayana is mentioned as a great musician who by his music could control the loose elephants He was asked by king Pajjoya to teach music to the princess Vāsavadattā [85] Uddāyana was another musician king, who used to play *vīnā* while his queen danced [86]

Music was accompanied by pipes (*vamsa*), *vīnā* (*tanti*), clapping (*tala*) and the rhythmic beating of the drum (*tālalaya*), following the instrumental music (*gaha*).[87] Even *svaras* (notes) are mentioned in the *Thānānga* According to the Jain tradition, a full description of the *svaras* and the eleven *alankāras* (rhetoric) was contained in the *Svaraprābhrta*, one of the fourteen *Pūrvas*, which is extinct now. It is stated that this subject should be studied from the works of Bharata, Visākhila and others which are only a part of the *Pūrvas* Then are mentioned the seven places of origin of the *svaras*, the birds and beasts that utter these notes, the musical instruments which give rise to these notes, the advantages occuring from singing these notes, three *grāmas* (gamut), twenty one *mūrchanās* (intonation), qualities and defects of singing, and the like [88]

Various musical instruments (*turiya*) are referred to, which may be classified as under . *tata* (stringed instruments) such as *vīnā* etc., *vitata* or *ānaddha* (percussion) such as drums etc , *ghana* (concussion) such as symbols etc , and *susira* (wind instruments) such as lute etc The *Rāyāpaseniya* mentions the following sixty instruments · (1) *sankha*, (2) *singa*, (3) *śankhiyā*, (4) *kharamuhī*, (5) *peyā*, (6) *pīripiriyā*, (7) *panava*, (8) *padaha*, (9) *bhambhā* (also known as *dhakkā*), (10) *horambhā* (also known as *mahādhakkā*), (11) *bherī*, (12) *jhallarī*, (13) *dunduhi*, (14) *muraya*, (15) *muinga*, (16) *nandī muinga*, (17) *ālinga*, (18) *kutumba*, (19) *gomuhī*, (20) *maddala*, (21) *vīnā*, (22) *vipañcī*, (23) *vallakī*, (24) *mahatī*, (25) *kacchabhī*, (26) *cittavīnā*, (27) *baddhīsā*, (28) *sughosā*, (29) *nandīghosā*, (30) *bhāmarī*, (31) *chabbhāmarī*, (32) *paravāyanī*, (33) *tūnā*, (34) *tumbavīnā*, (35) *āmota*, (36) *jhañjhā*, (37) *nakula*, (38) *mugunda*, (39) *hudukkī*, (40) *vicikkī*, (41) *karadā*, (42) *dindima*, (43) *kiniya*, (44) *kadamba*, (45) *daddariyā*, [89] (46) *daddaragā*, (47) *kalasiyā*,

[84] Also cf *Avadāna sataka* III, 30, p 163, II 17, p 93, also 'the Parts of a *Vīnā*', by A K Coomaraswamy, *J A O S*, Vol 50-3, 1930

[85] *Āva cū* II, p 161.

[86] *Uttarā Tī* 18, p 253

[87] *Rāya sū* 63

[88] *Thā* 7 553, *Jñā. Tī*, 3, p 193af, *Anu sū* 127, *Anu cū*, p 45, also see Śārngadeva's *Sangīta Ratnākar*, ch I, Poona, 1896, *Nātyasāstra*, ch 28

[89] Also known as *gohia*

(48) *maḍḍaya*, (49) *tala*, (50) *tāla*, (51) *kaṁsatāla*, (52) *ringirisiyā*, (53) *lattiyā*, (54) *magariyā*, (55) *suṁsumāriyā*, (56) *vaṁsa*, (57) *veḷu*, (58) *vālī*, (59) *parillī* and (60) *baddhagā*.[90]

DANCE

Music is incomplete without dance and expression. Dance has found copious mention in Indian literature from the earliest period.[91] We are told that Meghakumāra after marrying eight girls passed the time happily in his palace, having before him plays of thirty two performers, accompanied with song and music of drums played by damsels.[92]

The *Rāyapaseniya* describes thirty two kinds of dramas :

(1) The first dance drama was shown with the accompaniment of orchestral music representing the eight symbols, viz. *sotthiya* (*svastika**) *sirivaccha*, *nandiyāvatta*,[93] *vaddhamānaga*,* *bhaddāsana*, *kalasa*, *maccha* and *dappana*.

(2) In this dance drama were shown *āvaḍa*, *paccāvaḍa*, *seḍhi*, *pasedhi*, *sotthiya*, *sovatthiya*, *pūsa*, *mānavaka*, *vaddhamānaga*, *macchanḍa*, *magaranda*, *jāra*, *māra phullāvali*, *paumapatta*,* *sāgarataranga*, *vasantalatā* and *paumalaya-bhatticitta*.*

(3) In this they showed *īhāmiga*, *usabha*, *naraturaga*, *magara*,* *vihaga*, *vālaga*, *kinnara*, *ruru*, *sarabha*, *camara*, *kuñjara*,* *vanalayā*, and *puamalayabha-tticitta*.

(4) In this they showed *egao vanka*, *egao cakkavāla*, *duhao cakkavāla*, *cakkaddhacakkavāla*.

(5) In this was the representation of *āvalis* such as *candāvali*, *sūrāvali*, *valiyāvali*, *haṁsāvali*,* *egāvali*, *tārāvali*, *muttāvali*, *kanagāvali*, and *rayanāvali*.

(6) In this was shown the rise of the sun and the moon such as *canduggamana* and *suruggamaṇa*.

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90 Sū 64. The *Bṛh. Bhā Pi* (p. 12) mentions the twelve musical instruments *bhambhā*, *mukunda*, *maddala*, *kadamba* or *kadava*, *jhallarī*, *hudukka*, *kamsālo*, *kāhala*, *talimā*, *vamsa*, *panava* and *sankha*, see also *Bṛh Bhā Pi* 24, also *Bhag* 5 4, *Jivā* 3, p 145 a, *Jambu* 2, p 100 f, *Anu Sū* 127, *Nisī cū* 17, p 1158. The last mentioned work adds *damaruga*, *vīnā*, *dhankuna* and the like The *Ācā* (II 391) adds *littiya* and *kirikiriyā* The *Sūya* (4 2 7) mentions *kukkayaya* (lute) and *venupalāsiya* lute, the latter was a thin piece of bamboo or bark held between the teeth and the left hand, and played by the right hand just like a *vīnā* (com) Also see *Sangita-ratnākara*, chapter 6 where the details of the musical instruments are given. The *Rāmāyana*, V 11, 38 ff. mentions *madduka*, *pataha*, *vamsa*, *vipañcī*, *mrdanga*, *panava*, *dindima*, *ādambara* and *kalasī*, also see *Mahābhā*. VII 82 4.

91 Three types of Siva dances are mentioned in Hindu literature (1) evening dance in the Himālaya with a divine chorus which was the source of all movement within the cosmos, (2) *Tāndava* dance was performed in cemeteris and burning grounds which released the countless souls of men from the snare of illusion, (3) *Nadanta* dance of Natarāja was performed before the assembly in the golden hall of Chidambaram or Tillai, the centre of the universe which shows that the place of dance, the centre of the universe is within the heart (Coomaraswamy, *op cit*, pp 56 f, 65, also C R Srinivasa Aiyangar, Cultural aspects of Indian Music and Dancing, The *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, p 586.

92 *Nāyā* 1, p 23.

93 *Svastika*, *vardhamāna* and *nandyāvarta* are also mentioned in the *Mahābhā*. (VII, 82. 20) In the com. of the *Anguttara*, *nandiyāvatta* is mentioned as the name of a fish (Malalsekara, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 29).

(7) In this was shown the movement of sun and moon such as *candāgamana* and *sūrāgamaṇa*
(8) It showed the lunar and solar eclipse such as *candāvarana* and *sūrāvarana*
(9) It showed the setting of sun and moon such as *candatthamana* and *sūratthamana*
(10) It showed the *candamandala, sūramandala, nāgamandala, jakkhamandala, bhūtamandala, rakkhasamandala, mahoragamaṇḍala* and *gandhavvamaṇḍala.**
(11) It showed the gait of *usabhamaṇḍala, sīhamaṇḍala, hayavilambiya, gajavilambiya, hayavilasiya, gayavilasiya, mattahayavilasiya, mattagajavilasiya, mattahayavilambiya, mattagajavilambiya,* and *duyavilambiya*
(12) It showed *sāgarapavibhatti* and *nāgarapavibhatti.*
(13) It showed the drama of *Nandā* and *Campā*
(14) It showed *macchaṇḍapavibhatti, mayaraṇḍakapavibhatti, jārapavibhatti* and *mārapavibhatti*
(15) It showed the representation of letters from '*ka*' to '*ṅa*'.
(16) It showed the representation of '*ca*' to '*ña*'.
(17) It showed the representation of '*ṭa*' to '*ṇa*'.
(18) It showed the representation of '*ta*' to '*na*'.
(19) It showed the representation of '*pa*' to '*ma*'.
(20) It showed *asoyapallavapavibhatti, ambapallavapavibhatti, jambupallavapavibhatti,* and *kosambapallavapavibhatti.*
(21) It represented *paumalayāpavibhatti, nāga, asoga, campaka, amba, vana, vāsantī, kunda, atimuttaya,* and *sāmalayāpavibhatti.*
(22) *Duya* (*druta*) dance *
(23) *Vilambiya* dance.
(24) *Duyavilambiya* dance.
(25) *Añciya* dance *
(26) *Ribhiya* dance
(27) *Añciyaribhiya* dance
(28) *Ārabhada* dance *
(29) *Bhasola* dance *
(30) *Ārabhadabhasola* dance
(31) *Uppayanivayapavatta, sankuciya, pasāriya, rayāraiya,*+ and *bhantasambhānta* dance
(32) In this drama the actors and actresses forming a row represented the story of Mahāvīra's early life, his conception, exchange of foetus, birth, lustration, boyhood, youth, sexual sport, renunciation, penance, attainment of *kevala*hood, the propagation of his message and finally his *nirvāna* [94]

—*Recakarecita* in the *Jambū*
* These are mentioned in the Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* It mentions ***gajadonta*** **in place of** ***kuñjara*** (5) *hamsavaktra* and *hamsapakṣa* in place of *hamsāvalikā* (6), it gives twenty kinds of ***maṇḍala*** **(7),** and mentions *bhrāmara* in place of *bhosola* (11), and *recita* instead of ***recakarecita*** **(12); see** ***Bhag.*** Pt II (Bechardas ed), p 43.
[94] *Sū.* 66-84,

Then other dramas known as *mahuyarīgīya* and *soyāmani* are mentioned[95] The *Pinda niryukti* refers to the *ratthavāla* drama which was staged in Pātaliputra by the monk Āsādhabhūi It depicted the life of Bharata, the universal monarch, and it is stated that after seeing this drama a large number of kings and princes retired from the worldly life and joined the ascetic order Later on, thinking that the drama might do great harm to the world and the earth may be devoid of the *Ksatriyas*, it was destroyed.[96]

(6) PAINTING

The art of painting was considerably developed in ancient India[97] The painters are mentioned along with brushes (*tūliyāo*) and colours (*vannaya*), first they divided the wall surface (*bhūmibhāga*) and then prepared the surface (*bhumim sajjei*). There were painters who were adepts in their profession. One painter is mentioned who, could portray the complete figure of bipeds (*duvaya*), quadrupeds (*cauppaya*) and things without foot (*apaya*) even if he saw a part of their body.[98]

Trees, mountains, rivers, seas, houses, creepers, full vessel and *sovatthiya* etc[99] were painted.

Pictures were drawn on walls as well as on panels or boards (*phalaka*) A courtesan, who got painted the characteristics of different castes, different phases of the art of love depicting the reconciliation of lovers, has been already referred to[100] Paintings on panels were a very helpful medium in encouraging love affairs We are told that a *parivrājā* painted the portrait of the princess Sujetthā on a board and showed it to king Seniya,[101] who fell in love with her Similarly, prince Sāgaracanda became enamoured of Kamalāmelā when her portrait was shown to him[102]

Picture-galleries (*cittasabhā*) are mentioned which were a matter of great pride for the kings in ancient India These galleries were constructed on many hundred pillars. One such picture-gallery was built by a banker of Rāyagiha in the adjoining forest of the city which was decorated with wooden (*katthakamma*), earthen (*potthakamma*)[103] and plaster decoration (*leppa*), wreaths (*ganthima*), images (*vedhima*), and dolls (*purime*)

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95 *Uttarā Tī* 13, 196, 18,240

96 474-480

97 *Citta* or painting is mentioned in the *Kuttinīmata* (vs 124, 236) among various arts to be studied by a courtesan The following six great requisites of painting are mentioned knowledge of appearances, correct perception, measure and structure of forms, action of feelings on forms infusion of grace or artistic representation, similitude and artistic manner of using brush and colours (*P B I*, p 316), see also A K Coomaraswamy's *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art* pp 164 ff

98 *Nāyā* 8, p 106 f, also cf *Uttarā* 35 4.

99 *Brh Bhā* 1 2429

100 Supra, p 275

101 *Āva cū* 11, p 165

102 *Brh Bhā Pī*, 172

103 See also *Kuttinīmata* (vs. 124).

which were stuffed and made of cloth (*sanghāim*).[104] We are told that in the picture-gallery of prince Malladinna the pictures were imbued with coquettish sentiments and feelings (*hā abhāva*), the play of the eyes (*vilāsa*) and amorous gestures (*bibboya*).[105] Jiyasattu is mentioned as another king who owned a picture-gallery. We are told that, when the construction of this gallery was in progress, a painter's daughter formed the design of a peacock feather in the mosaic floor (*kottimatala*). The king under the false impression of its being natural was tempted to pick it, but in his attempt the nails of his fingers struck against the floor and he hurt his hand.[106]

Dummuha is mentioned as still another king to have a picture-gallery. When this pinnacled gallery was ready he entered it with great ceremony.[107]

(4) SCULPTURE

Sculpture or the art of image making is considerably old in ancient India.[108] The earliest materials for carving selected by Indian artists seems to have been wood. *Katthakamma* or the work in wood has been referred to above. The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* refers to the sage Vārattaka whose wooden figure was built and worshipped by his son.[109] We also hear of images made of plaster (*puttha*), ivory (*danta*) and stone (*sela*).[110]

The *Nāyādhammakahā* mentions a golden image of Malli with a hole in its head which was covered with a lid.[111] Then we come across a mechanical image (*jantapedimā*) of a human being which could walk, open and shut its eyes. It is said that in Yavana country such images were turned out in great number.[112] Another specimen of fine workmanship in mechanical toy is supplied by the mechanical elephant (*jantamayahatthi*) manufactured by king Pradyota to capture Udayana of Kosambī.[113]

(5) ARCHITECTURE

The art of house building (*vatthuvijjā*) was an important art in ancient India. There were *vatthupādhagas* or men qualified for testing sites for house building.[114] *Vaddhai* or an architect is counted as one of the fourteen 'jewels'.[115] In building a new house in the city it is said that, firstly, the land is examined, then it is levelled, then rings (*undiyāo*)

104 *Nāyā* 13, p 142
105 *ibid* 8, p 106 ff
106 *Uttarā Tī* 9, p 141 a.
107 *Ibid*, p 135. Dhanapāla has mentioned three types of *citrasālā*, see Art notes from Dhanapāla's *Tilakamanjari* by C Sivaramamurti, *Indian culture*, Vol II, pp 199-210, also The Indian Painter and his art in the *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol III p 555 ff by the same author.
108 For characteristic features of the sculptures of the various periods see Gopinath, *The Elements of Hindu Iconography* pp 33-37, O C Gangoly, Indian Sculpture *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol III, pp 536-554
109 2 11
110 *Bṛh Bhā* 1 2469.
111 8, p 95.
112 *Bṛh Bhā* 4 4915.
113 *Āva cū* II, p 161.
114 *Ibid* II p 177.
115 *Jambu Sū* 3.55, p. 229, also see *Rāmayana* II. 80 1 ff.

are cast on different places fit for different constituents of the building. Then the ground is dug and the foundation is laid and a well pressed and then a platform of brick masonry is added.[116]

Three kinds of buildings are mentioned : an underground cell (*khāya*), a palace (*ūsiya*), and a combination of the two (*ubhaya*)[117]

The *Rāyapeseṇiya* mentions a number of architectural terms, which show the development of the science to a great extent in those days Mention is made of Suryābhadeva's *Vimāna* which was surrounded on all sides by a rampart (*pāgāra*) and which was embellished with beautiful cornices (*kavisīsaga*). In every direction there were gates (*dāra*) with cupola (*thūbhiya*) decorated with the figures of *īhāmiga*, bull (*usabha*), horse with a man's head (*naraturaga*), crocodile (*magara*), bird (*vihaga*), serpent (*vālaga*), *kinnara*,[118] deer (*ruru*), *sarabha*, yak (*camara*), elephant (*kuñjara*), creeper (*vanalayā*) and lotus creeper (*paumalayā*). They had capitals (*veiyā*) decorated with the figure of the pair of the *vidyādharas* The doors had landings (*nimma*),[119] foundation or pedestal (*paitthāna*), pillars (*khambha*), thresholds (*eluyā*), bolts (*indakīla*), door-posts (*cedā*), lintels (*uttaraṅga*), small door bolts (*sūi*), joints (*sandhi*), sockets (*samuggaya*), wooden cross bolt pin (*aggalā*), sockets for wooden pin (*aggalapāsāya*), hinges (*āvattanapedhiyā*), and left wings (*uttarapāsaga*). There were heavy doors fitting closely (*nirantariyaghanakavādā*) ; in their panels (*bhitti*), there were globular bosses (*bhittiguliyā*) and cushions (*gomānasiyā*) In the doors the figures of *sālabhañjikas*[120] in various playful attitudes were carved Then the doors had pinnacles (*kūda*), elevation (*usseha*), the tops (*ulloya*), lattices (*bhoma*), pinions (*pakkha*), pinion supports (*pakkabāhā*), cross beams (*vamsa*), ribbings (*vamsakavelluya*), panels (*pattiyā*), thatches (*ohāḍanī*) and thatches under the ribbings (*uvaripuñchanī*).[121]

Then there were pegs (*nāgadanta*) on both sides of the gates, from which were hung hangers (*sikkaga*) and on which were suspended incense pots (*dhūvaghadī*).[122]

We learn about a Theatric hall[123] (*picchāgharamandava*) which was supported by many columns (*anegakhambhasayasannivittha*), and was furnished with huge altars (*vedikā*), arches (*torana*) and *sālabhañjikā* figures , it was decorated with *īhāmiga* etc., was fitted with a mechanism to show the moving figures of the pair of *vidyādharas*, had hundreds of

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116 *Bṛh Bhā Pī* 331-3, also cf *Digha* I, p 9 , *Milindapañha*, pp 331, 345.
117 *Bṛh Bhā* 1 827
118 The *Kinnara* motif in decorative art is mentioned by the Sinhalese painters. The *Kinnaras* are beings, human above and bird-like below , like a siren or harpy, with human arms and shoulders and the wings not large enough for flight , A K Coomaraswamy *Mediaeval singhalese Art*, Gloucesterhire, 1908, p 81f
119 *Dvārānām bhūmibhāgād ūrdhvam niskrāmantah pradesah*, com
120 For a beautiful description of *sālabhañjikās* read sū 101 The *Avadānasataka* (VI, 53, p 302) mentions *sālabhañjikā*, a festival celebrated in Srāvasti
121 *Rāya. sū.* 97f.
122 *Ibid. sū.* 100, p 164
123 Almost the same description is given of a royal house (*bhavana*) in the *Nāyā* 1, p 22 ; also cf. the description of a litter (*siyā*), *ibid.*, p. 31. Also vide *Mānasāra*, ch. XLVII

figures decorating it (*rūvagasahassakaliyam*), had many domes (*thūbhiyā*), was decorated with flags and bells, was well-plastered (*ulloiya*) and bore the palm impression inside and outside, its gates had sandal pitchers and arches; there were flowers, garlands, perfumes and incense, and the ceiling (*ulloya*) was decorated with lotus creepers In the centre of the Theatre hall there was a stage (*akkhāḍaga*) which had a jewelled seat (*maṇipeḍhiya*) in the centre On that there was a throne having discs (*cakkala*), lions (*sīha*), feet (*pāya*), tops (*pāyasīsaga*), the body (*gatta*) and the joint (*sandhi*)[124]

The stair-cases are mentioned which were well-equipped with landings (*nemma*), plinth (*avalambana*), balustrade (*avalambanabāha*), etc [125] Then the *Nāyādhammakahā* describes the sleeping chamber (*vāsagharaya*)[126] of queen Dhāriṇī as having an outer court yard (*chokattha*, com *lāṣṭyātundaka*), polished and well-set pillars endowed with statues (*sālibhañjiyā*), bird-perches (*vidanka*),[127] latticed windows (*jāla*), circular stairs (*addhacanda*), brackets (*nijjūha*), apertures (*kanayāli*, com *sūnavīsuhi*), and a room on the roof called *candasālikā*, it was coloured with the dye of clear mineral rock (*dhāucela*), the outside was white-washed (*dūmiya*) with stone and therefore it had a smooth surface (*ghattamattha*) and the inside was decorated with pictures (*citta kamma*), its floor (*koṭṭimatala*) was richly studded with various gems and jewels and the ceiling had a canopy of painted cloth (*ulloyacittiya*) with lotus flowers (*paumalayā*) and flowering creepers laden with beautiful flowers, the door-ways were beautifully decorated with auspicious golden jars, with lotus flowers inserted in the mouth and these were worshipped with sandal wood, the door was decorated with *prataradaka* (an ornament) and hung with necklaces of pearls and jewels Fragrant incense burnt in the room and the furniture consisted of rich upholstered beds, cushions and pillows, etc.[128]

There were lofty mansions (*pāsāya vaḍaṃsaya*) for rich and well-to-do people Seven storeyed[129] mansions touching the sky and embellished with flags, banners, umbrellas and garlands are referred to [130] Then we have reference to a post (*khandha*), pillar (*thambha*) raised platform (*mañca*), scaffold (*māla*) and flat roof (*hammiyatala*)[131] The city of Rāyagiha was known for buildings made of stone and bricks (*kāṇitta*)[132] The mirror-house (*āyaṃsagiha*) of Bharata was well-known[133] *Sīyahara* or the cool-house was a marvellous house of a *Cakravartin* which remained

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124 *Rāya* 41 f For the description of *Sudharmā* Hall and other buildings see *Rāya*, 120-131

125 *Ibid sū* 30, cf three kinds of stairs, viz, brick stairs, stone stairs, and wooden stairs, *Cullavagga*, V 11 6

126 Also compare the description of dwelling place (*vāsaghara*) in the *Kalpa sūtra*, 3 32.

127 *Vitanka* is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*, II 80 20

128 1, p. 3 f, also cf *Bṛh Bhā Pī* 582 ff

129 *Uttarā Ṭī* 13, p 189

130 *Nāyā* 1, 22

131 *Āyā* II 1 7 260

132 *Bṛh Bhā* 3 4768

133 *Uttarā Ṭī* 18, p 232 a

unaffected by rains, cold and heat[134] Then we had underground construction (*bhūmighara*),[135] back door (*avadāra*),[136] big tunnels (*suranga*)[137] and lac-houses (*jauhara*)[138]

The *Svayamvara* halls have been already mentioned, they rested on hundred columns and were embellished with sportive *sālabhañjikā*[139] statues We had *attanasālā* (hall for gymnastic exercises), *majjanaghara* (bathing house),[140] and *nhānamandapa* (bath room) containing windows, ornamented with pearls, its floor studded with various jewels and precious stones and equipped with a bathing stool (*nhānapītha*)[141] We also come across *uvatthānasālā*[142] (attendance hall) *posahasālā*[143] (fasting hall), *kūdāgārasālā*[144] (pinnacled hall) and square tanks[145] (*pokkharinī*)

(9) FORTIFICATION

The principles of fortification of towns were well understood We read that the city of Campā was solidly built and it was hard to enter Its moat (*phalihā*) was broad on top and cut deep down, it had discs (*cakka*), clubs (*gaya*), maces (*musundhī*), barriers (*oroha*), war-machines (*sayagghī*) and double doors (*jamalakavāda*); it was surrounded by a wall (*pāgāra*) bent in a curve like a bow, and decorated with cornices (*kavisīsa*) arranged in circles, its bastions (*attālaya*), rampart paths (*cariya*), door-ways (*dāra*), gates (*gopura*), and arches (*torana*) were lofty, its high roads (*rāyamagga*) duly divided, its gate bars (*phaliha*) and bolts (*indakīla*) were strong and fashioned by skilful artificers[146]

Of religious architecture we find mention of the *devakulas* or temples We are not told in details about the nature and architectural feature of these buildings, except that they were resorts of the travellers

We have references to *thūbhas* and the *ceiyas*, built upon the remains of the deceased persons. Such *thūbhas* are said to have been built on Atthāpada in memory of Usabha by his son Bharaha.[147] We are told that in the village of Vaddhāmānaya a *Jakkha* temple was built on the bones of the deceased persons of the town, and hence this village came to

134 *Nisī cū* 10, p 559.
135 *Uttarā. Tī*, 13, p 185 a
136 *Nāyā* 8, p 111.
137 *Āva cū* II, p 165
138 *Uttarā Tī* 13, p 188 For the construction of lac-house, see *Mahābhārata*, I 150
139 See supra, p 158
140 Hot-air baths are described in the *Cullavagga* v 14.
141 *Kalpa* 4 61 f
142 *Ibid* 4-58, also see *Paramatthadīpanī*, the com on the *Udāna*, p 102
143 *Nāyā* 1 p 19
144 *Rāya* 94 p 150
145 *Nāyā* 13, p 142 f
146 *Ovā* 1 also *Uttarā* 9 18-24.
147 *Āva cū* p 223 f, cf *Tittira Jātaka* (No 438, III, p. 537); for the construction of a *Vihāra* see also *Avadāna Sataka*, II, 15, p. 87, *Mahāvamsa*, chs, XXVIII, seq, Indian Architectural Terms by A K. Coomaraswamy, *J. A O S* 48-3, 1928

be known as Atthiyagāma.[148] The temple (*devakula*) built on the remains of the dead was also called *maḍagaleṇa* or *matagagiha*.[149]

Layana is mentioned as a resort of the ascetics in caves.[150] We hear of the *mangala ceiyas* in Mathurā. It was a belief here that if a Jain image was not put in the lintel, then the house would fall.[151]

In furniture we also come across rich beds, cushions, pillows, chairs, etc.

Among marriage gifts mention has been made of *pāvīdha* (foot stool), *bhisiyā* (seat), *pallanka* (couches) and *paḍisijjā* (sofas) Various kinds of *āsanas* have already been noted.[152]

Dandasampucchanī and *venusampucchanī* are mentioned as brooms attached to the bamboo-sticks [153]

Among other domestic furniture we have the fan (*vījana*), the umbrella (*chatta*), sticks (*danda*)[154] jak-tail (*camara*), the mirror (*ādamsa*), the box (*mañjūsa*), the casket (*samugga*), a basket (*piḍaya*) and cages (*pañjara*).[155]

148 *Āva cū* p 272
149 *Nisī. cū* 330, *Ācā cū* 370
150 *Anu. Sū* 99, p 145
151 *Bṛh Bhā* 1 1776
152 See supra, p 157, also see *Rāya Sū* 113, *Kalpa* 4 49,63 For references to cushions. coverlets, counterpanes, chairs etc see *Mahāvagga* v 10 3, *Cullavagga* vi. 2 4, also *Indian Culture* Vol. II, July, 1935 pp 271 ff, Girija Prasanna Majumdar's article on Furniture, also *Mānasāra*, chs. XLIV, XLV, R L Mitra *Indo-Aryan*, Vol I pp 250 ff.
153 *Rāya Sū* 21.
154 *Bṛh Bhā* 3 4097, for umbrella, foot-wear and stick, also see Girija Prasanna Majumdar's article on Dress in the *Indian culture* (I, 1-4, pp. 203-208).
155 *Uttarā.* 14·41.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

I

THE *SAMANAS*

India has been a land of religions. From the earliest times religion forms a central motif in the pattern of ancient Indian life.

According to Megasthanes, the Indian sages were divided into two sects, *Brahmans* and *Sarmans*; among the latter the *Hylobioi* (living in woods) were honoured most [1] The term *Samana* or the recluse philosopher and *Māhaṇa* or the hermits are referred with equal respect in the old texts of the Jains as has been stated already. The *Samanas* played a very important role in moulding the material as well as the spiritual life of the people. They were highly respected by the common-folk as well as by kings and nobility These ascetics wandered about eight or nine months of every year from country to country (*jaṇavayavihāra*) engaging themselves in religious discussions and preaching the *dharma* We meet them usually in the groves adjoining the settlement set up by the people for the common use of the travellers The common people paid them respects, called on them in their temporary residence at the parks, put them their queries, offered them food, provided them with shelter (*vasahi*), seat (*pīḍha*), a piece of a wooden board (*phalaga*), a bedding (*sejjā*), a mat (*santhāraya*), and other necessities of life. We are told that, when Mahāvīra arrived in Campā there arose a great uproar in the town and many people set out to pay a visit to the Lord ; some went to pay him reverence, some simply to see him, some to satisfy their curiosity, some to ascertain the truth and some simply to put questions [2] The same enthusiasm is noticed among the citizens when the mendicant Suya visited the town of Sogandhiyā [3] In fact, people consideredeed it a great privilege even to hear the name and title (*nāmagoya*) of such saintly lords, how much more to approach them, pay reverence to them and wait upon them.[4]

The *Nisītha cūrni* mentions five classes of the *Samaṇas* : (1) *Nigganṭha, Sādhu or Khamana*, (2) *Sakka*, (3) *Tāvasa*, (4) *Gerua* (*Parivrājaka*) and (5) *Ājīvika* [5] We shall deal with them one by one.

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1 Mc Crindle, *The invasion of Alexander ohe Great* p 358 , See also *Parmatthadīpani* the com on the *Udāna*, p 338 , The *Anguttara* (IV, p 35 , I, p 157) mentions two classes of *Paribbājakas*, the *Aññatitthiya Paribbājakas* and the *Brāhmana Paribbājakas* (Law *Historical Gleanings, p* 9) ; Law, Gautama Buddha and the Paribbājakas, *Buddhistic Studies*, pp 89 ff , also see Winternitz's, article "Jainas in Indian literature" (*Indian Culture* Vol I, 1-4, p 145.

2 *Ovā* 27, pp 107-111.

3 Nāyā 5, p. 73

4 *Ovā.*, 27, p. 108.

5 **13, p. 865.**

(1) THE SAMAṆA NIGGANTHAS

Monasticism

Persons desiring to renounce the world and embrace the life of a monk or a nun were allowed to be admitted in the Jain congregation without any distinction of rank or caste Not only the world-sick ordinary people renounced the world but also warriors and bankers, who were members of the upper class and who were endowed with personal grace, learning, valour and splendour. They left their riches, corn, and the family, and considering sensual pleasures worthless and life transitory as the water bubbles and dew drops, exchanged the glitter and pomp of worldly life for the homeless condition of the ascetics.[6]

People dissatisfied with the condition of society around them such as the political conflicts, resulting in tyranny and lawlessness, domination of one class over another, the ruthlessness of criminal laws, the system of usury etc , and disappointed in their cherished expectations, fled away from deceptive pleasures and wickedness of the world and sought quietude and peace of mind in solitude in a wood The question is asked :—

By what acts can I escape a sorrowful lot in this unstable internal *samsāra*, which is full of misery ?

The answer is :—

Severing your former connections, place your affection on nothing ; a monk who loves not even those who love him, will be freed from sin and hatred.[7]

This is the keynote of the whole pessimistic philosophy.

CAUSES OF RENUNCIATION

Various causes are assigned to renunciation. The *Thāṇāṅga* mentions the following ten kinds of renunciation (*pavvajjā*) :

(1) Voluntary renunciation of the world, (2) renunciation due to sudden anger, (3) renunciation due to poverty, (4) renunciation on seeing a dream, (5) renunciation in fulfilment of a vow (*padisuga*), (6) renunciation because of recollecting previous birth, (7) renunciation due to sickness, (8) renunciation due to insult, (9) renunciation by being enlightened by gods and (10) renunciation out of affection for a son who had already taken to order.[8] We come across instances when sentimental people escaped from the worldly state at the slightest provocation. We are told that the queen of Devilāsatta of Ujjenī saw a grey hair on her husband's head, which she took out coiling round her finger. The king said that an envoy of old age had come, and keeping it in a golden plate, covering it with a pair of silken garment, took it around the city. The

[6] *Ovā*, 14, p 49
[7] *Uttarā* 8. 1, 2. trans. by Jacobi, p. 31
[8] 10. 712.

king anointed his son on the throne and pronouncing "our forefathers renounced before their hair turned grey", retired from the world along with his queen.[9]

Even at times very trifling causes and incidents stirred deep religious feelings. Bharata, for instance, saw his finger devoid of the ring and it looked ugly and this cause was sufficient enough to make him renounce the world.[10] King Dummuha beheld the banner of Indra fall down and adopted the ascetic life.[11] Aritthanemi saw the animals kept in enclosures for slaughtering purposes and it induced in him a sense of the transitoriness of things.[12]

Although as we have seen that the membership of the Jain ascetic order was open to all, there were exceptions to the general rule and the following persons were excluded from entering the monastic order — Children,[13] old man,[14] eunuchs, dull (*jada*), timid (*kīva*) and sick persons, robbers, king's enemies, lunatics (*unmatta*), blind, slaves, wicked and stupid persons (*mūdha*), debtors, deformed persons (*jātyanga-hīna*), attendants (*obaddhaa*), servants, forcibly converted (*sehampphedia*), pregnant women, and young girls (*bālavaccha*).[15]

THE RENUNCIATION CEREMONIES

The renunciation ceremony (*nikkhamanasakkāra*) was held with great pomp and show in ancient India. Great enthusiasm was displayed on such occasions and even kings took active part in the ceremony and encouraged people to embrace asceticism. We hear of an announcement made by Kanha Vāsudeva that if any king, heir-apparent, queen, prince, chief (*īsara*), knight (*talavara*), head of a family (*kodumbiya*), headman of a village (*mādambiya*), rich men (*ibbha*), foremen of guilds (*setthi*), commander-in-chief and the leader of caravan would join the monastic order, he would look after his family and relations who might be left behind.[16] *Pavvajjā* or "leaving the world, adopting the ascetic life" was conferred

9 *Āva cū* II, p 202 f, cf "*Dharmadūta*" in the *Sthavirāvalicarita*, 1 94 f, also *Cullasutasoma Jātaka* (No 525), V, p 177, *Nimi Jātaka* (541) VI, p 95
10 *Uttarā Tī* 18, p 232a
11 *Ibid* 9, p 136
12 See Supra, p 126 f
13 The exceptions are Aimuttakumāra, managa and Vaira. It is stated that a child may be ordained under the following circumstances (1) If the whole family wants to join the ascetic order, (2) if the whole family of the monk has expired and only a child has been left, (3) an orphan child of a *sammaditthī* (one who has right vision), (4) an orphan child of a *sejjātara* (one who gives shelter to the monk), (5) a child of a nun, who might have been raped and (6) if there is possibility of any good being done to the *kula*, *gana* or the *sangha* through minister or other state servants (*Nisi cū* 11, p 717 ff). Six years is stated to be the minimum period for *pavvajjā*, otherwise in ordinary course no one can be ordained before eight years (*Bhag Tī* 5 3)
14 The exceptions are Somila Brāhmana, the father of Mahāvīra in his previous birth, Usabhadatta, the father of Jambu, and Somadeva, the father of Ajja Rakkhia, (*Nisi cū* 11, p 718)
15 *Thā* 3 202
16 *Nāyā* 5, p. 71,

near a lotus-pond or a *caitya* shrine with a *sikhara*. An auspicious day under a favourable planet was selected except *caturthī* and *aṣṭamī* which were avoided.[17] An essential condition for the admission into the monastic order was securing the permission of the parents or the guardians. Frequently we hear of gifts of a male or a female disciple (*sissabhikkham, sissinībhikkham*) offered to the teacher by the guardian of a person who wished to join the order.[18]

The *Nāyādhammakahā* gives a description of the renouncement of prince Meghakumāra. After listening to the preachings of Mahāvīra, Meghakumāra returned home and requested his parents to allow him to enter the order of the Teacher. When the mother of Meghakumāra heard this, she was overcome by grief and became unconscious. Meghakumāra's parents tried to dissuade him by various ways but he showed his stern determination towards renunciation. Then a sweeping duster (*rayoharana*) and a bowl (*padiggaha*) were bought from the shop (*kuttiyāvana*) and a barber (*kāsāvaya*) was called for hair-cutting. Then Meghakumāra was given a bath, his body was anointed with *gosīsa* sandal and was beautifully dressed and ornamented. He sat in the palanquin with his mother on the right and his foster-mother with a sweeping duster and a bowl on the left. Meghakumāra arrived at the Gunasilaya shrine where he was presented to Mahāvīra to be initiated as his disciple. Then the prince with his own hands plucked out his hair in five handfuls and approached Mahāvīra and walking round him thrice praised and worshipped him. Mahāvīra admitted the prince into the order and preached him the law showing him how he should walk, stand, sit, lie, feed, speak, show forbearance towards living beings and pursue the path without negligence.[19]

A beautiful dialogue between Nemi and the Sakka is recorded in the *Uttarādhyayana*. When the former giving up his kingdom and renouncing all his pomp and show, retired from the world, the Sakka approached him and tried to dissuade him from his determination, but Nemi remained steadfast in his purpose.[20]

THE SAMAṆA SAṄGHA

The religious corporation of the Jain monks was an important and unique organisation in ancient India. In fact, the Jains have remained as an organised community all through the history of India even before the rise of Buddhism down to the present day. The Jain *sangha* as it has been pointed out included the monks (*samana*), the nuns (*samanī*), the laymen (*sāvaya*) and the laywomen (*sāviyā*). Jain texts furnish us evidence about the existence of collective bodies of ascetics, who lived

[17] *Bṛh Bhā Pī.* 413.
[18] See *Nāyā* 1, 33, *Anta.* 5, 28
[19] pp 24-34
[20] 9. 20-22 trans Jacobi, p. 37 f.

together under the leadership of one teacher in an *uvassaya* or a *vasati*, and who followed a code of rules and regulations laid down for them. We have seen that Pārśva and Mahāvīra had a large number of followers Likewise Vairasāmi had a *gana* of five hundred monks under his supervision.[21]

The rule of a *Samana Nigganiha* is stated to have been most difficult (*paramaduccara*) to practise. He had to keep a watchful eye over his observances The path is compared to treading on the edge of a sword.[22] There were two classes of Jain monks · (1) those who wandered about naked and used the hollow of their palms for an alms-bowl, (2) and those who put on clothes and kept an alms-bowl, sweeping-duster, a piece of cloth called *mukhavastrikā* and other necessary articles. They came out daily begging their food, and plucked their hair unlike the Buddhist monks[23] They were called *Nigganthas* because they were unfettered It is said that a monk had to guard himself against (1) destroying life, (2) telling a lie, (3) stealing, (4) sexual intercourse, (5) possessions, (6) taking meals at night, (7) injuring "earth-bodied" living beings, (8) "water-bodied" living beings, (9) "fire-bodied" living beings (10) "air-bodied" living beings, (11) "vegetable-bodied" living beings, (12) mobile beings (*tasa*), (13) prohibited things, (14) taking meals in a householder's utensil, (15) using sofa (*paliyanka*), (16) seat (*nisajjā*), (17) taking bath, and (18) decoration[24]

The *Nigganthas* were not allowed to eat or drink anything specially prepared for them, purchased for them, set aside for them or cooked for them ; neither they were allowed to eat food meant for famine-stricken persons; food for foresters, food stored for rainy season, food meant for the sick persons, or roots, bulbous roots, fruits, seeds and green vegetables[25] Thus the conduct of a Jain monk, down to the minutest detail, was regulated by specific ordinances and even the slightest violation of which was sure to bring down upon him the appropriate punishment It is a difficult work to narrate these ordinances in detail, but it would suffice to say that these touched even the minutest details regarding their conduct in begging alms, their residence, medical treatment, their duty at the time of distress, lawlessness in the country, pestilence, behaviour towards the king, and the like

THE HARDSHIPS UNDERGONE BY THE SAMANAS

There were days of endless troubles and difficulties for the Jain *Samanas*, who had to pass through various calamities to get on with their

21 *Āva cū* p 394
22 *Nāyā* 1, p 28
23 According to Prof Rhys Davids the *Bhikku* order of homeless persons evolved originally from the *Brahmacārins* who did not enter upon the stage of the householder and who customarily begged their food (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp 215 ff).
24 *Das. sū* 6 8
25 *Nāyā* 1, p. 28.

religious life. Travelling was extremely difficult, organised bands of robbers and dacoits moved freely, there were political disturbances when lawlessness prevailed throughout the country, getting a shelter was no less difficult a problem, rivalry between the Jain *Samanas* and other heretical monks and the Brāhmanas was common, there was famine, flood, pestilence, sickness when the *Samanas* suffered to a great extent Under such circumstances, however, the Jain *Samanas* tried hard to maintain the usual course of procedure laid down for them Frequently there came critical moments in their life when they hovered between life and death, and ultimately they contented themselves by laying down their lives quietly without uttering a word

TRAVELLING[26]

Travelling was considered an important means of spreading religion It is stated that a *sādhu* or a religious mendicant should be accomplished in various regional languages and in correct utterance and expounding of the *Sūtras* in different provincial languages He should learn the regional languages and then convert the people of the land He should also meet the great *ācāryas* in his travel for the better understanding of the *Sūtras*[27] The *Samanas* had to traverse long and dreary distances when travelling was most insecure and painful They had to cross big wild forests, vast deserts and big mountains and rivers taking their lives in their own hands Some lost their way in endless jungles, some were overpowered by snow and thorny bushes, some were devoured by wild beasts, some were done to death by robbers and dacoits, and some lost their lives for want of food and drink

It is stated that in the course of the journey the *sādhus* should not transgress the fence laid by the caravan. Sometimes the caravan in deep forest came face to face with lions or robbers and the whole caravan was destroyed by wild beasts and robbers and if a *sādhu* was separated from the caravan, then he could ask the help of the sylvan deity, who would by means of a tremor show him the way or lead him to a *janapada*.[28] They were tied up[29] and there was risk of being put to death and flogged and, therefore, it is said that the boundary of the enemy territory should not be crossed by the *sādhus*[30]

The journey of boats was also a problem to the *Samanas* We hear that considering the *Samana* as an unrenumerative encumbrance for the boat, people took hold of him and threw him into water[31]

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26 See *Bṛh sū.* 1 46 and its *Bhāsya*, pp 856-880 (chapter on adhvaprakarana)
27 *Bṛh Bhā* 1.1230 f, 1234
28 *Ibid* 1.3104-9
29 Cf. *ibid*, 3·3901
30 *Ibid*, 1 2783, also cf 1 3112
31 *Ācā Sū* II, 3 2 344 Also *Āva. Nir* 470, cf *Avāriya Jātaka* (No 376), *III*, pp. 230 f.

ROBBERS[32]

There were organised bands of robbers, already referred to, who attacked the travelling tradesmen and made good their escape. The robbers were not content with this, they also kidnapped men and women. They destroyed shrines and the articles thereof, they massacred the whole *gaccha* including the *ācārya* and carried off the nuns.[33] These robbers entered the residence of the *sādhus* and exacted trouble. The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to a robber who snached an excellent blanket (*kambalaratana*) from an *ācārya* at the point of a dagger.[34]

POLITICAL DISTURBANCES[35]

There was another hardship caused by political disturbances in the country. The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* divides the kingless state (*arājaka*) into four groups (1) after the death of the king if there were two heirs-apparent and none of them so far anointed as the king (*anarāya*), (2) when one prince who had already appointed an heir-apparent in his turn took another joint ruler (*juvarāya*), (3) when the army of the enemy occupied the country (*verajjaya*), (4) when there was warfare between the two opponents claiming the throne (*verajja*).[36]

Frequently the *Samaṇas* moving about during disturbances were mistaken for spies and were arrested.[37] It is for this reason that the *Nigganthas* or *Nigganthinīs* are prohibited from wandering about during the time of political disturbances (*viruddharajja*) in the country.[38]

Then it was alright if the king was a devotee of the Jain faith. In that case the *Niggantha Samaṇas* were given facilities by the king and the state servants. But if the king belonged to a different faith, the lot of the *Samaṇas* was deplorable. Frequently they were banished, their food and drink were stopped and their ritualistic paraphernalia were confiscated and there were occasions when they were put to death.[39] It was a custom that at the time of the king's coronation everybody including the eighteen corporations and the *Samaṇas* should visit the king with respectful offerings (*aggha*); if the *Nigganthas* (*setabhikkhus*) failed to do so they were dealt with severely.[40] Under such circumstances the *Nigganthas* had to go in the disguise of Buddhist monks and live on prohibited food, such as roots, flesh, stale food (*dosīna*), oil-cakes, and the food offered to the crows. In the absence of the ritualistic paraphernalia they picked up

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32 See *Bṛh. Sū.* 1 45 and its *Bhāṣya* pp 848 to 856, chapter on harivāhadivapakrta
33 *Nisī. cū. Pī.*, p 90
34 3 3903, 4, also cf *Mahāvagga* VIII 22
35 See *Bṛh. sū.* 1 37 and its *Bhāṣya* pp 778-787 (chapter on vairājya viruddharājya-prakṛtam)
36 1 2763
37 Cf. *Uttarā Ṭī.* 2, p 25a
38 *Bṛh. sū.* 1 37.
39 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1 3221
40 *Nisī. cū.* 9, p. 518; also cf *Uttarā Ṭī.* 18, p. 248a

rags from the dunghill, took a peacock feather broom (*pehunda*) used hide to cover their body, hid themselves behind the lotus-ponds or the *palāsa* tree during day time and travelled at night.[41]

RESIDENCE

Shelter was another problem before the *Sādhus* In some countries it was very difficult for the monks to get shelter and under such conditions they had to put up in the shrine or a deserted house (*sunnaghara*) where there was trouble from women, eunuchs, wild beasts, snakes, mosquitoes, ants, dogs, and robbers.[42] It is ordered that the monks should supervise their residence thrice a day, because it may so happen that the women might leave their new born babe there, or the robbers might leave the stolen property, or a person might murder his enemy and leave him, or a woman might commit suicide near their residence [43] Nuns were more troubled due to want of residence and so often they lost their morals.[44]

SICKNESS[45]

During the period of sickness the *Samanas* had to depend solely on others for treatment If a monk was seriously ill and the physician was not willing to come to *vasati*, the *sādhus* had to carry him to the physician's house. The *Samanas* approached him at an auspicious time and talked when he was seated happily Sometimes the physicians prescribed such medicines and diets for the patients which were difficult to procure for the monks In case the physician attended the patient in the *uvassaya* the monks had to make arrangements for his bath, food and drink etc. Then the question of paying fees worried the *sādhus*. The greedy physician would not be contented without getting his dues and the poor *sādhus* had to provide for it getting it either from the treasure that one might have kept hidden under the earth before taking to the ascetic life or from the unclaimed treasure-trove found in a palace or a well or by earning by making mechanical swans and such other toys.[46]

FAMINE

There were long famines in the country and it was extremely difficult for the *sādhus* to get their lawful alms during this period We have seen how Ajja Vaira used to get alms by magical practices during famine and thereby maintained other monks We hear from the *Brhatkalpa Bhāsya* how the monks fell a prey to women at such times of distress and lived with them as husband and wife [47]

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41 *Vya Bhā*. 1, p. 122 f, *Brh Bhā* 1 3120-3136.
42 *Nisī cū* 5, p 397
43 *Brh Bhā* 3 4747-4749
44 *Brh. sū* 2 11, *Bhā* 3484 ff
45 Vide *ibid*, (1 1900-1972)
46 *Vya Bhā* 5 89 f, p 20, cf the Buddhist monks who were allowed to the use of a loom and shuttles etc. as a handicraft by Buddha (*Cullavagga* V 28 2.).
47 4·4955-58.

PROSTITUTES

Then there were prostitutes who entered the residence of the *Samanas* during night and invited them to enjoy sexual intercourse Sometimes the monks were forced to tie them and keep them there overnight and set them free in the morning. If the prostitutes made a case with the king, the monks had to appear in the court for self-defence.[48]

WOMEN

Then we come to women. Throughout the Jain texts the Jain monks are warned not to have any association with women It is stated that as a pot filled with lac thrown into fire melts quickly and is destroyed, so the monks are lost through association (*samvāsa*) with women [49] A woman is compared to a poisoned thorn[50] and the monks are instructed to avoid a woman even if her hands and feet are cut off and her ears and nose mutilated.[51]

But it was no easy matter to have a thorough control over one's sex instinct. After all the monks had to come in contact with women-folk They had to go out begging alms to them and preaching them religion If a monk was living singly, there were chances of his breaking the law and falling into the snares of women Sometimes the monks lived together with householders, when the householder's wives, daughters, daughters-in-law, nurses and slave girls approached them and requested them to indulge in sexual intercourse with them so that they might have a strong and illustrious son.[52] The *Sūyagadanga* beautifully describes a monk, who, being absorbed by the passion towards a woman, became subject to her. Afterwards the woman scolds him, lifts her foot, and tramples on his head, saying "O monk, if you will not live with me as a woman who has still her hair, I shall tear it out ; but do not live separated from me " Then she asks the monk to bring wood to cook vegetable, to paint her feet, to rub her back, to get clothes, food, drink, perfume, collyrium-box, ornaments, powders, oils, pills, lipsalve, umbrella, slippers, comb, ribbon, looking-glass, tooth-brush and various other articles for use If the woman got pregnant she ordered her husbands like slaves to fulfil her cravings. If a child was born to her, she asked the monk to hold the baby, and getting up in the night they both lulled the baby to sleep like nurses, and, though they are ashamed of themselves, they washed the clothes of the baby like washerfolk [53]

A number of monks are mentioned who fell into the snares of women We have already seen how the monk Rahanemi fell in love with

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48 *Ibid*, 4·4923-25, also *Sūya* 4 1 2 , also cf *Dhammapada A*, II, p 201
49 *Sūya.* 4 1 27
50 *Ibid*, 4 1. 11
51 *Das. sū* 8 56.
52 *Ācā* II. 2 1 294, p 332 f; cf *Vinaya* (III p 134) where sexual union with a *Bhikkhu* is recommended as a remedy for sterility or a means to procure a son or the husband's love.
53 4. 2.

Rājimatī and courted her. Then the monk Sambhūya, who, being touched by the hair of the queen Sunandā lost his self-control and resolved to be born as a *cakravartin* in the next birth as a reward of his penance.[54] A similar story is told about the monk Addaya who gave up asceticism and married a merchant's daughter. After his wife gave birth to two sons, Addaya asked her permission to resume his wandering career. But at this time his wife was spinning. When her child asked her mother what she was doing, she replied that as his father wanted to become an ascetic, she was spinning in order to support her family. Then the child tied his father with twelve rounds of a cord and listening his child's request Addaya remained in the house for a further period of twelve years.[55] Then we read of the monk Āsāḍhabūi, who, inspite of his teacher's warning, abandoned his ascetic life and married the two daughters of Viśvarkmā, an acrobat of Rāyagiha.[56]

THE IDEAL OF THE JAIN SAMAṆAS

It is stated in Jain texts that a *sādhu* should not be negligent in his duties, and it is commendable for him to enter into fire rather than to violate his long-cherished vow.[57] But it should be borne in mind that the ideal of *śramaṇa*hood was not to be followed literally. It is laid down that in order to cherish the greater vow one can sacrifice the lesser one, just like a merchant who abandons the lesser quantity of wealth in preference to the greater quantity.[58] The Jain *Śramaṇas* are strictly warned against violating their religious vows, but at the same time it is stated that the life is not without merit and it must be guarded thoroughly even at the risk of *sañjama* (*sañamāo appāṇameva rokkhanto*), for, it is said that if a person came out safe from the calamity, he could purify himself by making confessions (*pacchitta*) and could practise more religious tenets.[59] It is stated that one's body must be guarded with care as it were a mountain, as a mountain is the source of water so is the body of religion.[60]

On many occasions the *Nigganthas* or *Nigganthinīs* were oppressed by wicked kings and ministers. Under such circumstances, failing to pacify the oppressor by peaceful means, it was the duty of the *Samana Sangha* to punish the evil-doer properly. It is stated that as Cāṇakya uprooted the Nanda family, or the weaver Naladāma the species of ants, so a hostile king must not be spared. It is laid down that the holy persons who help the cause of religion in this way, or those who render help to

[54] *Uttarā Tī* 13, p 186 af
[55] *Sūya Tī* II, 6, p 388, also cf *Bandhanāgāra Jātaka* (201) (I, p 139 f), ***Dhammapada A.*** I, pp 306 f, IV, pp 54 f
[56] *Piṇḍa Nir.* 474 ff
[57] *Bṛh Bhā.* 4 4949
[58] *Nisī cū pī* p 138
[59] *Ibid* cf *Jīvandharmam carişyāmi* (*Mahābhā* XII 141. 67).
[60] *Bṛh Bhā* Vr 1 2900

such holy persons in their enterprise, are entitled to achieve liberation within a short period (*acirānmokṣagamanam*) The saint Vinhukumāra is cited as an example of a great saviour of Jain religion[61] There are other examples when under extreme circumstances the *sādhus* were forced to violate their vows. It is stated that in order to save an *ācārya* from the hands of a robber-leader, a weak-bodied *Samana* might declare himself as an *ācārya* and offer his life for the sake of his teacher[62] We have seen how a monk concealed his disciple in a nunnery when the latter was chased by the royal servants Then, if a *Sramana* failed to control his sexual urge he could indulge in sexual enjoyment by way of masturbation[63] (*hatthakamma*), associating with a woman or by visiting a public woman by paying fees[64] Similarly at the time of emergency the *Samanas* were forced to take medicine at night and to use hide, bone teeth or ivory, nails, hair, goat-dung or cow-urine as medicine[65] But as it has been pointed out, this was not the usual course of conduct of the *Samanas*. It should be treated as *apavādamārga* or exception to the rule when a monk under extreme distress had to set aside the *utsargamārga* or a general rule for which he had to undergo a *pāyacchitta*[66] It is stated that as magical spells removed the effect of poison, similarly if violence is committed according to law (*vidhi*) purified by chanting magical formulæ, sacrifice (*janna*) and recitation (*japa*), it does not lead to baneful result ; in this way what is permissible (*kappa*) becomes impermissible and *vice versa*.[67] Thus a *Samana* could violate the general rules only under exceptional circumstances with the idea of practising greater *sañjama*, i.e , with the idea of doing greater good, which was the ideal of *Śramaṇa*hood.

(2) THE SAKKA SAMAṆAS

The *Sākya Śramanas* are very frequently referred to in Jain texts They were also known as *rattavadas* or *taccanniyas* A discussion between Addayaputta and the Sākyaputrīyas has been already mentioned[68] The Buddhist doctrine of five *skandhas* is also referred to[69] The Buddhist were known as *akriyāvādins* as we shall see later on[70] The doctrines of

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61 *Vya Bhā* 7·545-547 , 1. 90 f, p 76 f
62 *Bṛh Bhā* 1 3005 f
63 Cf *Vinaya* (III, pp 112, 117) where emission of semen with a desire to remove nervous tension by using the hand or other methods is referred to as an offence for the Buddhist monks
64 *Vya Bhā* 2 245-254, p 52 f 2 257 f, p 57 f. 5 71 f, p 17 , *Nisī cū* 6, pp 451 ff, 464 , *Bṛh Bhā* 4 4952-4956
65 *Pinda Nir* 50 f
66 The *Oṭā* (*sū* 20, p 77) describes ten kinds of *payacchitta* *aloana*, *padikkamana* *tadubhaya*, *viega*, *viussagga*, *tava*, *cheda*, *mūla*, *anavaṭṭhappa* and *parañcia*
67 *Nisī cū* 15, pp 955, 957, also p 1036
68 See Supra, p 127.
69 *Sūya* I, 1. 17.
70 For other references see Amulyachandrasen, *schools and sects in Jaina literature* pp. 23 ff

Buddha (*Buddhasāsaṇam*) have been included among those false beliefs which are said to be the products of false knowledge.[71] As a matter of fact, the *Śākya Śramanas* were the worst opponents of the *Nigganthas*, who suffered most at their hands, specially after Mahāvīra's death.

(3) THE TĀVASA SAMAṆAS

The institution of hermits or *Tāvasas* is very old We hear that on one of the journeys he made during his ascetic life, Mahāvīra put up in a hermitage (*āsamapada*) in Morāga Sannivesa[72] Mahāvīra came across another hermitage named Kanakakhala in Uttaravācāla where five hundred hermits were staying ;[73] still another hermitage is referred to in Poyanapura where Vakkalacīri was born[74]

The hermits lived in the forest[75] where they occupied themselves either in meditation or in sacrificial rites, or in practice of self-torture or studying the *Suttas* containing the texts of their school. Much of their time was spent in gathering fruits and roots for their sustenance, or in going into villages for alms The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* tells us that the *Tāvasas* picked up rice-grains scattered around the mortar (*udukhala*), or the threshing floor (*khalaya*) and ate them after cooking Sometimes they collected as little quantity of grains as could be held in a spoon (*darvī*) or stick (*danda*) or between the thumb and the forefinger (*sandāsaya*) or as much as adhered to a piece of cloth (*pottiya*)[76]

The *Ovāiya*[77] mentions the following classes of *Vāṇapattha Tāvasas* residing on the bank of the Ganges ·

Hottiya—They offered sacrifice.
Kottiya—They slept on the bare ground
Pottiya—They belonged to the class of ascetics who wore clothes
Jannaī—They performed sacrifice
Saddhai—They belonged to the devotional class of ascetics
Thālaī—They carried all their belongings with them (*gṛhītabhāṇda*)
Humbauttha—They carried a vessel with them (*kundikāśramana*).
Dantukkhaliya[78]—They used their teeth for a mortar, grinding the grain to be eaten between their teeth
Ummajjaka—They bathed taking only a dip
Sammajjaka—They bathed by taking dips several times
Nimajjaka—They remained in water only for a short while
Sampakkhāla—They rubbed and cleansed their body with mud

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71 Supra, p 288
72 *Āva Nir* 463
73 *Āva cū* p 279
74 *Ibid*, p 457 ; cf Bāhiya Dārucīriya in the *Dhammapada* 4. II, p p 209 f
75 *Nisī cū* 965
76 10 23
77 *Sū* 38, p 170, also *Nirya* 3, p 39
78 *Dantolūkhalin* and *ummajjaka* hermits are also mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*, III, 6·3 ; also Dīgh comm Vol I p 270 here eight kinds of ascetics are mentioned

Dakkhinakūlaga—They dwelt on the south bank of the Ganges

Uttarakūlaga—They dwelt on the north bank of the Ganges

Sankhadhamaga—They had meals after blowing a conch-shell to keep people away

Kūladhamaga—They blew a conch-shell on the river bank to keep people away while they took their meal

Miyaluddhaya—They killed animals

Hatthitāvasa—They killed an elephant with arrows and made their livelihood by eating its flesh for months together The *Hatthitāvasas* claimed that they committed but one sin, the killing of the elephant in a year or so which was counterbalanced by the merit earned by not killing other lives during this time. They are also mentioned in the *Sūyagadanga* According to the commentary, they were Buddhist monks[79]

Uddandaga—They moved about raising their staff They are referred to along with *Bodiya* and *Sasarakkha* mendicants who went about naked and used the hollow of their hands as alms-bowl.[80]

Disāpokkhī—They sanctified all sides by sprinkling water and then collected flowers and fruits The *Bhagavatī*[81] refers to the royal sage Siva of Hatthināpura, who joined the order of the *Disāpokkhiyas* on the bank of the Ganges. He practised *chatthama* (a fast, broken at the sixth meal) and on the day on which he broke fast, he sprinkled the eastern quarter, propitiated *Soma*, the lord of east, and collected bulbous roots, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds and green vegetables Then he returned to his hut, cleaned the sacrificial altar (*vedikā*) and went to bathe in the Ganges He made another altar with grass and sand, kindled a fire by the friction of pieces of wood, and keeping ritualistic paraphernalia by his side, offered honey, *ghee* and rice to the fire Then he prepared *caru* (oblation), worshipped *Vaissadeva* and the guests and then took his meal Then Siva observed the *chatthama* fast again and proceeded to the south to propitiate *Yama*, then to the west to propitiate *Varuna* and finally to the north to propitiate *Vesamana* Somila was another hermit of Vānārasī who belonged to the same order and was a worshipper of the four *disās*[82] King Pasannacanda also belonged to the same order; he joined the order along with his queen and the nurse[83]

Vakavāsī—They put on dress of bark

Ambuvāsī—They lived in water

Bilavāsī—They lived in caves

Jalavāsī—They remained submerged in water

Velavāsī—They lived on the sea-coast

Rukkhamūlia—They lived under the trees.

Ambubhakkhī—They lived by drinking water only.

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79 II, 6, The *Lalitavistara* (p. 248) mentions '*Hastivrata*' ascetics.

80 *Ācā cū* p 169.

81 11 9

82 *Niryā* 3, pp 39 ff

83 *Āva. cū* p. 457.

Vāubhakkhī[84]—They lived by inhaling air only

Seiālabhakkhī[85]—They lived by eating moss

Other hermits lived on roots, bulbous roots, peels, leaves, flowers and seeds, some on rotten roots, bulbous roots, skin, leaves, flowers and fruits,[86] their body became rough due to constant bathing and they practised the *pañcaggi* penance These *Tāvasas* followed the rules of the *Vānaprastha āśrama* Like other ascetics the *Tāvasas* also moved in a body. We hear of three hermits named Kodinna, Dinna and Sevāli, who were followed by a body of five hundred disciples each They lived on roots, bulbs, decayed leaves and moss; they set out to pay a visit to Atthāvaya[87]

(4) THE GERUYA OR PARIVRĀJAKA SAMANAS

The *Parivrājakas* or the wanderers were great teachers of the Brāhmanic lore and were greatly respected throughout the country It is stated in the *Vasistha Dharmasūtra* that a *Parivrājaka* should shave his head, clothe himself with one piece of cloth or skin or cover his body with grass pulled off by cows or he should sleep on bare ground.[88] They maintained their regular monasteries (*avasaha*) and they wandered about in a body with the object of engaging themselves in conversational discussions on matters of ethics, philosophy and various other topics of public interest They allowed even women to enter their order. The *Ovāiya*[89] gives the following description of the wandering mendicants

They were versed in the four *Vedas*, *Itihāsa*, *Nigghantu*, six *Vedāngas* and six *Upāngas* noted already They preached the doctrine of charity (*dānadhamma*), purity (*soadhamma*) and that of bathing at holy places (*titthābhiseya*) According to them whatever was impure became pure by applying mud and washing with water They believed that they were pure themselves and by taking bath they would attain heaven They never travelled in a cart or a litter, never entered a lake or a river for bathing, never rode on a horse or an elephant, never visited the performance of a dancer or a bard, never trampled upon or rubbed the green vegetables (*hariāna*), never indulged in talks regarding women, food, country, king and thieves, never kept any costly pots except a bottle-gourd, wooden or an earthen pot, never put on garments of various colours except one pair dyed with red-clay (*dhāualla*), never wore any ornaments except one copper ring (*pavittaya*), never wore any garland except a pair of flower earrings, never besmeared their body with any fragrant substance except the clay of the Ganges, and they took only one *Magadha prastha* (a measure used in Magadha) filtered (*paripūya*) water for drinking purposes

84 The *Rāmāyana*, III, 11 13 mentions Māndakarni a hermit, who lived on air; also *Mahābhārata* (I 96 42)

85 Cf *Lalitavistara*, p 218

86 Cf the ascetic practices in the *Dīgha* I pp 166 f

87 *Uttarā Ti* 10, 151a

88 10 6-11, also see Malalasekara, *op cit* Vol II, p 139 f, *Malāthā* XII 190.3.

89 Sū 38, p. 172.

Jain Texts describe some prominent wandering mendicants and nuns who seem to have exercised considerable influence on the public. We hear of Ajjakhanda of Kaccāyana gotta, who was putting up in Sāvatthī. Once he took his ritualistic paraphernalia viz., triple staves, water pot (*kundī*), rosary (*kañcaṇiyā*), earthen bowl (*karoḍiyā*), seat (*bhisiyā*), sweeping duster (*kesariyā*), teapoy (*chaṇṇāliyā*), hook (*ankusaya*), ring (*pavittaya*) and the forearm ornament (*kalācikā*) and putting on an umbrella and wearing shoes and dyed robes proceeded to pay a visit to Mahāvīra.[90] Suya was another wandering mendicant who was well-versed in the four *Vedas*, *Satthitanta* and the Sāmkhya system. He preached ten kinds of a mendicant's religion (*parivvāyagadhamma*) based on purity When Suya arrived in the company of one thousand mendicants in Sogandhiyā, people set out to pay him reverence with great enthusiasm [91] Then the *Ovāiya*[92] describes the mendicant *Ammada* and his seven disciples. It is said that Ammaḍa and his disciples did not pay respect to any other deity except the *Arhat* and they attained heaven after death Ammaḍa sojourned in Kampillapura and he received alms from hundred houses (*gharasaya*). He observed the *chatthamachattha* fast with his alms stretched and his face turned towards the sun. He never accepted food which was prepared for him or brought for him or set aside for him or cooked for him ; neither he was allowed to eat food, meant for famine-stricken persons, for rich persons, or roots, bulbs, fruits, seeds and green vegetables Once the seven disciples of Ammada were travelling from Kampillapura to Purimatāla in summer ; they arrived in a dense forest and felt extremely thirsty They did not get water to drink and so setting aside their ritualistic paraphernalia they went to the sand of the Ganges and by giving up food and drink submitted to *pāovagamana*. Puggala is mentioned as another mendicant who sojourned in [93] Ālabhiyā We have already referred to the nun Cokkhā who was wandering about in the company of other nuns in Mithilā

Besides, other *parivrājakas* are mentioned[94]·—

Caraka[95]—It is said that they begged alms while moving in company (*dhāṭivāhaka*) and they moved on while eating. They accepted cleansed (*dhōvita*) alms and put on a lion-cloth (*kacchotaka*). It is said that these mendicants were the direct descendants (*sūnu*) of Kapilamuni.[96] These mendicants got up in the morning and swept the shrines of *Skanda* and

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90 *Bhag* 2·1.
91 *Nāyā* 5, p 73 ff
92 Sū. 39f *Ambattha*, a learned Brahmin is referred to in the *Dīgha* I, pp 87 ff
93 *Bhag*. 11 12
94 *Anu Sū* 20 , *Nāyā Ṭī* 15
95 *Caraka* is mentioned in the *Bihadāranyaka upaniṣad* where it denotes a wandering student (*Vedic Index* I, p 256).
96 *Paṇṇa Ṭī* II, 20 p 405 ; also cf. *Ācā cū* p. 265.

other deities, anointed them and burnt incense in the temple[97] The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* records religious discussion between a *Caraka* and the *Kṣullakas*[98]

Cīrika—They picked up rags from the road side,[1] or according to another interpretation their religious requisites were made of cloth

Cammakhandia—They put on a dress of hide or their religious requisites were made of hide

Bhikkhahunda—They would eat nothing except what had been obtained by alms and would not take cow-milk etc, they are considered as identical with the Buddhist monks

Panduranga or *Pandaraṅga*—They besmeared their body with ashes, they were Śaiva mendicants According to the *Nisītha cūrṇi*,[100] however, the disciples of Gosāla were called *Pandarabhikkhu* The *Anuogad-vāra cūrṇi* identifies them with the *Sasarakkha (sarajaska) Bhikkhus*[101]

Then there were other *Parivrājakas*[1]

Sankha—They followed the Sāṁkhya system

Joi—They followed the Yoga system

Kavila—Kapila was their lord they followed the atheistic *Sāṁkhya* system

Bhivvaa—They were the disciples of Bhṛgu

Hamsa[102]—They lived in mountain caves, roads, hermitages, shrines and gardens and entered a village only to beg

Paramahamsa[103]—They lived on river banks, the confluence of streams, and discarded clothes before they died

Bahūdaga[103]—They lived one night in a village and five nights in a town

Kudivvaya[103]—They lived in their own house and considered getting victory over greed illusion and egotism as their goal

Kanhaparivvāyaga—They worshipped the *Nārāyana*[104]

( ) THE ĀJĪVIKA SAMAṆAS

The order of the *Ājīvikas* is of older standing than that of Gosāla himself, who is considered as the third leader of the sect[105] It is evident from the *Bhagavatī*[106] that the history of the *Ājīvikas* commenced one hundred

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97 *Āva Ṭī* p 87 98 2, 23a

99 The *Digha* I, p 166 also mentions such ascetics (*[illegible]*)

100 p 865, also mentioned in the com of the *Dhammapada* (IV, p 8)

101 p 12 102 *O a* 38, p 172

103 Also Haribhadra *Saddarśanasamuccaya* p 8[illegible] V S 19[illegible] Bombay, mentioned in the Hindu religion as well, see *Religion of the Hindus*, Vol I p 231 f by H H Wilson, London 1862

104 Kandu (or Kanna) Karakandu Ambaḍa Parāsara (also mentioned in the *Therigatha* (116), *Majjhima* I 114 [illegible]) Kanhadīvāyana (also in the *Kanhadīpāyana Jātaka* IV pp, 83 87, *Majjhima* I 11[illegible] 45 Devagutta and Nārada are mentioned as Brahmanical mendicants (*O a* 38 p 172) Then Selai Sasihara (or Masihara) Naggai Phaggu, Videha Rayarisa Rāyarāma and Bala were the Khattiya mendicants (ibid)

105 *Majjhima* I, pp 524, 238 For a treatment of the subject see Dr Barua *The Ājīvikas*, also *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, pp 297 318 by the same author, also Law, *Historical Gleanings* pp 37ff 106 15

and seventeen years before Gosāla. It is stated that Gosāla lived twenty two years in the body of Enejjaga, twenty one in that of Mallarāma, twenty in that of Maṇḍiya, nineteen in that of Roha, eighteen in that of Bhāraddāja, and seventeen in that of Ajjuna Goyamaputta.

Gosāla was well-versed in the eightfold *Mahānimittas* which he learned from the six *Disācara* ascetics. It seems that other *Ājīvika Samanas* also were adepts in this science, and so we are told that Ajja Kālaya, a great Jain saint, learned this science from them.[107]

Another characteristic of the *Ājīvika Sramanas* was that they practised severe penance. The *Ṭhāṇānga*[108] mentions four kinds of austerities practised by them such as severe austerities, fierce austerities, abstention from *ghee* and other delicacies and indifference to pleasant and unpleasant food. The *Ovāiya*[109] describes the following classes of the *Ājīviyas* those who begged food at every second house, third house, fourth house, sixth house, seventh house, those who accepted lotus-stalk only those who begged in every house, those who did not beg if there was a flash of lightning, and those who practised penance by entering big earthen vessels (*uttiyāsamana*). The *Ājīvika Śramanas* lived alone, used cold water, lived on seeds, accepted things prepared for them, had intercourse with women,[110] and wandered about naked (*nāgnyadhāraṇam*)[111]

THE LAY FOLLOWERS OF THE ĀJIVIYAS

The names of the twelve adherents of the *Ājīvika* faith are given as follows :—

Tāla, Tālapalamba, Uvviha, Saṃviha, Udaya, Nāmudava, Nammudaya, Anuvālaya, Saṅkhavālaya and Kāyaraya They considered Arhat Gosāla as their God, were devoted to their parents, abstained from five kinds of fruits viz , *umbara*, *vada*, *bora*, *satara* and *pilaṅkhu*, gave up eating roots, bulbous roots, onions and maintained themselves by trade which did not involve killing and by means of uncastrated bulls They did not indulge in the fifteen occupations mentioned above[112] The potter Saddālaputta[113] and his wife Hālāhalā are mentioned as other lay followers of the *Ājīvikas* Sāvitthī and Polāsapura seem to be the centres of activities of the *Ājīvikas* where an *Ājīviya*-hall is mentioned.[114]

DOCTRINES

From the story of Saddālaputta we learn that according to the doctrine of Gosāla Mankhaliputta, there is no such thing as exertion or labour

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107 *Pancakalpa cūrni*, after *S B. M*, p 260

108 4 309, cf *Naṅguttha Jātaka* (I, No. 144), p 493.

109 Sū 41, p 196

110 *Ibid* II 6 7f

111 *Bhag Ṭī* 1 2 p 87. Makkhali Gosāla is enumerated as one of the six teachers of renown others being Pūrana Kassapa, Ajita Kesakamblī, Pakudhakaccāyana, Sañjaya Belatthiputta and Nātaputta, see *Digha* I, p 48ff

112 See supra, p 106

113 *Uvā* 7.

114 *Ibid.*

or power of vigour or human strength, but that all things are caused by destiny which is unalterably fixed[115] The *Sūyagaḍanga* refers to the doctrine of *niyativāda*, according to which pleasure and pain are not caused by the souls themselves, nor by others, but the individual souls experience them, it is the lot assigned to them by destiny[116]

GOSĀLA AND HIS ASSOCIATION WITH MAHĀVĪRA

The *Bhagavatī* gives the following details of the life of Gosāla —

Gosāla Mankhaliputta was born in the settlement Saravana in the cow-shed of a Brahmana Gosāla's father was called *mankhali* because he was a *mankha* or mendicant who went about begging alms by showing a picture which he carried in his hand Once he came to Saravana and took refuge during the rainy season in the cow shed where his wife bore him a son Since the child was born in a cow shed (*gosālā*) he was called by the name of Gosala Gosala grew up and having learnt the profession of a *mankha*, went about begging Once he arrived in Rājagiha and put up in a weaver's shed (*tantusalā*) in Nālanda About that time Māhāvīra also was putting up there In the course of his stay there, Gosāla observed extraordinary respect being paid to Mahāvīra and requested him to make him his disciple Once they were travelling together from Siddhatthagāma to Kummagāma, on their way they passed a large sesame plant On seeing it Gosāla asked Mahāvīra whether the plant would perish or not The latter replied that the plant would perish, and the seeds would form in vessels Later on, however, this prophecy of Mahāvīra came to be true In the meantime, Mahāvīra and Gosāla passed on to Kummagāma where they met the ascetic Vesiyāyana who was sitting with upraised arms and upturned face in the glare of the sun while his body was swarming with lice Gosāla teased him, whereupon Vesiyāyana attempted to strike Gosāla with his magic power, known as *tejolesa*, but Mahāvīra interposed his own magic and saved Gosala Then Mahāvīra explained Gosāla the course to obtain the magic power Shortly afterwards Mahāvīra and Gosāla returned to Siddhatthagāma and passed the same sesame plant. At this time there arose a difference of opinion with regard to the plant and Gosala separated from Mahāvīra Gosāla followed the course of asceticism, and after six months acquired the magic powers He then professed himself as a *Jina*, and became the head of a sect called the *Ājīviyas*. Their chief centre was Sāvatthi where lived the woman Hālāhalā, potter by caste, a lay disciple of the *Ājīviyas* Once Gosāla was staying in her shop in the twenty fourth year of his ascetic life when the six *Disācaras* came to visit him At this time Mahāvīra also was staying in Sāvatthī,

115 *Ibid* 6, p 44 cf the *Dīgha*, I p 53 where it was stated that according to Gosāla there is no cause for the depravity of beings, they become pure without reason or cause Nothing depends on human effort for there is no such thing as power or energy or human exertion or human strength Every thing that thinks or every thing that lives is destitute of power or energy Their varying conditions are due to fate their environments and their own nature

116 2. 2-3

and he related the above account of Gosāla's life and denied his claim to *Jinahood*. When Gosāla heard this he was greatly annoyed He called Ānanda, a disciple of Mahāvīra and told him that, if his teacher ever came in his way, he would destroy him by his magic power Ānanda went to Mahāvīra and told him what Gosāla had said. Mahāvīra admitted Gosāla's power, but added that it could have no effect on an *Arhat*, because the magic powers of the latter were still greater He further told Ānanda to forbid his followers to hold any intercourse with the heretical Gosāla. In the meantime Gosāla with his followers went to Mahāvīra and said that his pupil, Gosāla Mankhaliputta, is long since dead, while he was really Udāyī Kuṇḍiyāyanīya He then proceeded to explain in detail his theories and enumerated his own seven births. In reply Mahāvīra told him that he acted like a thief imagining that he could not be recognised. Gosāla now getting angry, began to abuse Mahāvīra and destroyed his two disciples by means of his magic power Now Gosāla shot forth his magic power of destruction against Mahāvīra, and declared that he would die of bilious fever within six months But Mahāvīra replied that he would yet live sixteen years longer, while on the contrary, Gosāla's magic power would recoil on him and that he would perish of bilious fever within seven days. The rumour of this dispute spread through the town and there was much discussion among the people as to whose threat would prove true Now Mahāvīra told his ascetics that they might go to Gosāla and worry him with questions and discussions Gosāla returned to Hālāhalā's shop, where in the delirium of fever, he gave himself up to drinking, singing, dancing, soliciting Hālāhalā and sprinkling himself with cool muddy water. On this Mahāvīra took occasion to explain his followers that the magic power discharged by Gosāla was powerful enough to cause the destruction of the people of the sixteen traditional *janapadas*. At this time a layman of the *Ājīviya* sect, happened to go to visit Mankhaliputta, but observing him in his delirious state he felt ashamed and wanted to retire quietly, but the *theras* about Mankhaliputta called him to stay Later on feeling certain of his death Mankhaliputta instructed his *theras* to bury him after his death with every mark of honour and to proclaim publicly that with him the last *Tīrthankara* had passed away

But, as the Jain canons would make us believe, at the last moment, overwhelmed by the sense of his evil deeds, he declared that Mahāvīra alone was the true Jina and that Mankhali himself was a wicked man, and that his *theras* should bury him with every mark of dishonour and publicly proclaim his shame Gosāla died and was born as a *deva* in the heaven. It is said that in course of time he would attain salvation [117]

ĀJĪVIKA AN IMPORTANT SECT

It seems from the Jain and Buddhist records that the sect of the *Ājīvikas* was an important sect and the *Ājīvikas* exercised considerable in-

117 *Bhag*, 15, Dr. Hoernle's appendix to *Uvāsagadasāo*.

fluence in Indian society[118] The contents of the *Ditthivaya* in the *Nandi*[119] mention the eighty eight *Sūtras* out of which twenty two are said to have followed the tradition of the *Ājivikas* and twenty two those of the *Terāsiyas*, who were the disciples of Gosala according to Abhayadeva[120] There is no wonder if Mahāvira were influenced by Gosala's doctrines[121] Unfortunately, no authoritative statements recording the tenets of the *Ājīvikas* have come forth so far, for which we have to depend solely on the Jain and Buddhist records The order of the *Ājivikas* is thrice mentioned in the edicts of King Asoka whose grandson Dasaratha gave them some cave dwellings at the Nagarjuni and Barabar hills Then Varahamihara (about 550 A D) mentions this sect as one of the seven sects of his time In the *Nisītha curni* 6th century) as pointed out above, the *Pandarabhikkhus* are identified with the disciples of Gosala Silanka (876 A D) identifies the *Ājīvikas* with the *Digambaras*, both being the followers of[122] Gosāla, and Bhattotpala the commentator of the *Brhajjataka* identified them with the *Ekadandins*[123]

OTHER SCHOOLS AND SECTS

II

THE FOUR GREAT SCHOOLS

The *Sūyagadanga* describes the four heretical creeds of the time of Mahāvīra, which are *Kiriyam* (*Kiryā āda*), *Akiriyam* (*Akriyāvāda*), *Annānam* (*Ajñānavāda*) and *Viniyam* (*Vinayavāda*)[124]

118 Buddha considered Makkhali as the most dangerous of the heretical teachers (*Anguttara* I 33)

119 *Su* 57

120 *Sama* *I* 22 p 39a However, according to the *Kalpasutra* (8 p 225a) the *Terasiyas* were the descendants of Mahagiri

121 Cf Jacobi S *B E* XLV p ... of the rigid rules form d n part of the ancient creed of Jainism and Mahavira might have borrowed them from the *Acelakas* or *Nirgranthas* the followers of Gosala with whom he is said to have lived for six years Prof Jacobi has also pointed out resemblances between the doctrine of Jains and that of Gosala (1) both believe in that all classes of living beings possess life (2) both have the division of animals according to their senses such as having one sense two senses etc (3) both believe in the doctrine of six *les* (*ibid* p XXX)

122 *Suya Ti* I 3 38

123 Kalyan Vijaya S *B M* p ... Dr Vaidya *Uvasagadasao* notes p 239 f This sect is also mentioned in the South Indian inscriptions (*Raja* the Cola king of the 13th century of the Vikrama era But this is a mistake This inscription is meant for the *Digambara* Jains and not for the *Ajivika* The sect of the *Ajivikas* was no more in existence during this period and because the *sadhus* of the *Ajivikas* and the *Digambara* both went about naked one was conveniently identified with the other (*ibid*).

124 I 12 1

KRIYĀVĀDA

Kriyā denotes the existence of soul (*jīva*) and those who admit the existence of soul are called *Kriyāvādins*.[125] It is stated that one who knows the tortures of beings below in hell, one who knows the influx of sin and its stoppage, one who knows misery and its annihilation is entitled to expound the *kriyāvāda*.[126] *Kriyāvāda* comprised one hundred and eighty schools [127]

AKRIYĀVĀDA

The *Akriyāvādins* deny the existence of the soul etc, for according to them every thing is of a momentary existence and a state comes to an end the moment it comes into existence, and therefore it can not have any *kriyā*. They are identified with the Buddhists, who hold the doctrine of *ksanikavāda*.[128] *Akriyāvādins* were also called *Viruddhas*, since they held the doctrines opposite to other heretics.[129] *Akriyāvāda*, it is said, comprised eighty four schools [130]

AJÑĀNAVĀDA

The *Ajñānavādins* deny the necessity or importance of knowledge to attain salvation, since there is assertion of contradictory statements in it [131] It comprised sixty seven schools [132]

125 *Ibid* 1 12, p 208

126 *Ibid*. 1. 12, p 223a This definition of *Kriyāvāda* is applied to Jains themselves However, it may be noted that according to *Śīlānka* (*Sūya Ṭī* p. 218a), *Kriyāvādins* held that action (*kriyā*) alone leads to liberation even though it be unaccompanied by right knowledge and right faith; also cf. *Uttarā Ṭī* 18 p 230 cf also *Anguttara* IV pp. 180-181 where Mahāvīra is represented as an exponent of the doctrine of free-will activity (*kriyāvāda*)

127 *Ibid* II 2 40. There are nine categories *jīva*, *ajīva āsrava*, *bandha*, *samvara*, *nirjarā* *mokṣa*, *punya* and *pāpa* Each of them may be regarded as *svatah* and *paratah* *nitya* and *anitya* with regard to *kāla*, *Īśvara* *ātmā*, *niyati* and *svabhāva* Thus by multiplying 9 x 2 x 2 x 5 we have one hundred and eighty possible schools of *kriyāvādins* (*Sūya Ṭī* 1. 12, p 208a)

128 *Sūya* 12-4-8 The *Thā* (8 607) gives the eight divisions of the *Akriyāvādins* *Egāvāi* (phonists), *Anegāvāi* (pluralists), *Mitavāi* (extensionists), *Nimmiyavāi* (cosmogonists) *Samucchedavādi* (annihilationists), *Niyavāi* (eternalists), and *Na Santi Paraloga vāi* (materialists), cf the same method of classification in the Brahmajāla sutta of the *Digha*. (Barua *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, p 197). In Buddhist works Pakudhakaccāyana's doctrine is also called *akiriyavāda* (Law, *Historical Gleanings* p 33)

129 *Anu Sū*. 20, *Nāyā*. *Ṭī* 15 p 194a, *Ovā* 38 p. 169.

130 Leaving out *punya* and *pāpa* take the seven categories. Each of them may be regarded *svatah* (subjective) and *paratah* (objective) with regard to *kāla* *Īśvara* *ātmā* *niyati* *svabhāva* and *yadrcchātah* (cf *Śvetāśvatara up* 1 2). Thus by multiplying 7 x 2 x 6 we have eighty four divisions (*Sūya Ṭī* 1·12 p 209).

131 *Sūya*. 1. 12. 2.

132 There are nine categories each one of which may be regarded as *sat*, *asat* *sadasat* *avaktavya*, *sadavaktavya*, *asadavaktavya* and *sadasadavaktavya*, which comes to 9 x 7 = 63 to these may be added *sat* *asat* *sadasat* and *avaktavya* which gives us sixty seven schools (*Sūya*. *Ṭī* 1. 12, p 209)

VINAYAVĀDA

They are also called as *Vainayikas* or *Aviruddhas*[133] They do not accept external rules of ceremony, but uphold the supremacy of reverence as the cardinal virtue leading to perfection[134] The upholders of this faith paid equal reverence to god, king, monk, elephant, horse, cow, buffalo, goat, jackal, crow, crane, crocodile and others[135] By paying reverence to god or master, ascetic, man, and aged persons, inferiors, mother or father by body, mind, speech and gifts, the school is divided into thirty two (8 x 4) divisions[136]

We have already referred to Vesāyana, a *Vinayavādi* who was practising *pāṇāmā pavajjā* with his arms uplifted when Mahāvīra and Gosāla arrived in Kummagāma[137] Mauryaputra Tāmali of Tāmalitti was another *Vinayavādi*, who had a wooden begging pot in which he received rice from every class of people He washed his rice twenty one times and by paying reverence to crows, dogs, *cāṇḍālas* etc, practised the *pāṇāmā pavajjā*[138] Then pūraṇa is said to have practised the *dāṇāmā pavajjā* He divided his alms into four parts one was given to travellers, another to crows and dogs, a third to fish and tortoises and the remaining part he kept for himself[139]

Then we had various other religious sects,[140] which have been arranged here alphabetically

Attukkosiya—They belonged to the class of ascetics who were proud of themselves.[141]

Bhūikammiya—They administered ashes to the people suffering from fever etc[142]

Bhujjo bhujjo kouyakāraka—They administered auspicious baths for procuring good luck[143] They are also known as *Ābhiogias*[144]

Candidevaga—They had hangers (*sikkaka*) as their ritualistic paraphernalia.[145]

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133 *Ovā op cit*, *Nāyā op cit* *Aviruddhakas* are mentioned in the *Anguttara* III, p 276

134 *Sūya* 1 2 2 f

135 See infra

136 *Sūya Tī* 1 12, p 209a

137 *Āva Nii* 494

138 *Bhag* 3 1, cf the practice of Kalāno a gymnosophist of Taxila who left India with Alexander and burried himself alive on a funeral pile at Sousa He was so called because in saluting those he met he used the word hail (McCrindle *The invasion of Alexander the Great* p 386)

139 *Bhag* 3 2 For other schools in the *Sūyagadanga* see Bechardas's article in the *Purātattva* (3 2 p 112 ff)

140 For other sages such as Vakkalacīrī, Asitadevala, Divāyana, Parāsara Nārada, Bāhuka, Mātanga and others, see *Isibhāsiya* and *Sūyagadanga* (3 4 2 ff) All these sages were highly honoured by the Jains and according to them they attained salvation

141 *Ovā Sū* 41, p 196

142 *Ibid*

143 *Ibid*

144 *Bhag* 1 2

145 *Sūya Nii* 7 90, p 154, *Bṛh Bhā* 1 2886 *Cakracaras* are mentioned in the Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* 17 36, also cf *Baudhāyana* (III 1, 5)

Dagasoyariya—An adherent of the *Dagasogariyas*, also known as *Suivādi*, who took bath after cleaning his body sixty four times if touched by anybody, is mentioned.[146] Mention is made of a *Dagasoyariya* ascetic who was putting up in the *Nārāyana kottha* in Mathurā After breaking his three days fast he pretended to have taken cow-dung, he never uttered the word *itthi* (woman) and observed silence People were so much attracted by his practices that they offered him robes, food and drink.[147] According to Malayagiri, however, these ascetics were the followers of the Sāmkhya religion.[148]

Dhammacintaka—They studied religious books,[149] and contemplated on the *Dharmasamhitās* composed by Yājñavalkya and other sages and acted accordingly.[150]

Gīyarai—They devoted themselves to songs and the pleasures of love.[151]

Goami[152]—They earned a living by making a young bull painted and decorated with cowries in his neck, performing tricks of touching feet etc ,[153] and created amusement for the people[154] These ascetics lived on rice[155]

Govvaia—They behaved like a cow and in order to support their bovine character they followed a cow wherever it went, grazed, drank water, returned home and slept They lived only on grass and leaves[156]

Kammārabhikkhu—They led a procession with idols (*devadronīvāhaka*)[157]

Kucciya—They grew beard and moustaches.[158]

Paraparivāiya—They spoke ill of other ascetics[159]

Pindolaga—They remained very dirty and their body which was an abode of lice emitted a foul smell[160] A *pindolaga* is said to have crushed himself under a rock on the mountain Vebhāra[161]

Sasarakkha—They were adepts in casting spells etc , and stored dust for the rainy season[162] They moved about naked, and used their hollow of hands as alms bowl[163]

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146 *Ācā cū* p 21
147 *Ibid* p 163
148 *Pinda Nir Tī.* 314
149 *Ovā Sū* 38, p 168
150 *Anu Sū* 20, p 21a
151 *Ovā* 38, p 171 , *Panna* II, 20, p 405.
152 *Gotamakas* are mentioned in the *Anguttara*, III, p 276.
153 Such bulls are even today common sight in Mahārāstra.
154 *Ovā Sū* 38, p 168 Anu *op cit*
155 *Nāyā* 15, p 194a
156 *Ovā op. cit* , *Nāyā op cit* , *Anu. op cit* , The *Majjhima*, I, p 387 f and its commentary also refer to *Govatika* ascetics , also see *Lalitavistara* (p. 248)
157 *Brh Bhā* 3 4321
158 *Brh Bhā* 1 2822 , *ogha Nir* 83. According to Pt Nathuram Premi the *Kūrcaka* monks belonged to the Digambara sect (*Anekānta*, Aug -Sept , 1944)
159 *Ovā. sū* 41, p 196 , in the *Bhag* (1 2) they are also spoken as *Kibbisiyas*
160 *Sūya cū* p 144
161 *Uttarā cū.* p 138 A *pindolaga* was highly respected and famous member of the Buddhist order (*Mātanga Jātaka*, IV, No 497), p 375 , also the com on the *Sutta Nipāta* II, 514 ff.
162 *Brh Bhā* 1 2819 , 3 4252.
163 See supra, p. 204

Vanīmaga—They were greedy of food and begged alms by exhibiting themselves to the devotees of *Śākya* etc [164] They put themselves in a pitiable state and in order to divert the attention of the donors spoke pleasing words.[165]

Vāribhadraka—They lived on water or moss and engaged themselves in bathing and washing their feet [166]

Vārikhala—They washed their pot with mud twelve times [167]

Then various other classes of ascetics are mentioned [168] Some believed in abstention from acids, salt, garlic, onions, young camel's milk, beef and liquors as the path of perfection [169] Some lived in woods, huts, near the villages, practised secret rites and never abstained from killing living beings. They declared "I am not to be punished, tormented or deprived of life because I am a Brāhmana, Sūdras only must be put to such states because they are mean and low "[170] Then there were various nuns such as *caṅkā*, *parivrājikī*, *kāpālikā*, *tāvasī*, *bhāgavatī* and the like they moved in the country of Sindhu in large numbers [171]

POPULAR DEITIES

III

Religion in its essence is based more on intuition and emotion than a rational attitude of mind It is with the help of religion that man tried to explain natural forces and phenomena of the universe by imagining the existence of ever present agencies which, he thought, controlled the cosmic system Thus came into being the workshop of various gods and goddesses and ancestral spirits which were supposed to be the controllers of the universe

The worship of various deities in India is quite ancient [172] Jain texts mention the festivities (*maha*) in honour of (1) *Inda*, (2) *Khanda*, (3) *Rudda*, (4) *Mukunda*, (5) *Siva*, (6) *Vesamana*, (7) *Naga*, (8) *Jakkha*, (9) *Bhūya*, (10) *Ajjā* and (11) *Koṭṭakiriyā* [173] We shall deal with them one by one

[164] *Pinda Nir* 444 f
[165] *Thā Ṭī* 5 454 also *Niś cū* 13 p 865 *Da Cū* p 195
[166] *Sūya Nir* 7 90 p 151
[167] *Bṛh Bha* 1 1738
[168] Bloomfield describes ascetics who practised atrocities, sprofesso who were smitten by love, who were greedy gluttonous, or otherwise vicious and who shamed asceticism (*J A O S* Vol 44 pp 202-42)
[169] *Sūya* 1 7 13 f and com
[170] *Ibid*, II 2 28 cf also *Uddālaka Jātaka* (II No 246) p 262 f *Mahabodhi Jataka* (No 528) V P 240
[171] *Bṛh Bha* 4 5441
[172] There were images of gods and goddesses in the days of Panini which were used for the purpose of making a living (Gopinath *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Introduction)
[173] *Naya* 8, p 100, *Bhag* 3 1 The *Lalitavistara* (p 120) mentions the images of *Śiva*, *Skanda*, *Nārāyana*, *Kubera Candra Surya*, *Vaiśravana*, *Śakra*, *Brahmā* and *Lokapāla*.

(1) INDAMAHA

The *Indra* is a vedic god of great antiquity and is the chief of all other gods He is famous for intemperence and adultery.[174] In the *Kalpasūtra Indra* enjoys divine pleasures in the heaven in company of various gods, eight chief queens, three assemblies, seven armies, seven commanders-in-chief,[175] and the body-guards (*āyarakkha*)[176] *Indramaha* was most prominent among all other *mahas* in ancient days[177]

The *Nisītha cūrni*[178] refers to the four great festivals (*mahāmaha*), viz, *Indamaha, Khandamaha, Jakkhamaha* and *Bhūyamaha*, which were celebrated on the full-moon days (*punnimā*) of *āsādha*[179], *āsoya, kattiya* and *cetta* months successively when people passed their time in eating, drinking, dancing, singing, and visiting friends

The festival of *Indra* was celebrated with great pomp The *Uttarādhyayana* commentary refers to the celebration of this festival by king Dummuha in Kampillapura. The banner of *Indra* (*Indaketu*)[180] was raised amidst loud and auspicious cries, which was flagged with white banners adorned with a number of little bells, covered with beautiful wreaths and garlands, decorated with a string of jewels and decked with pendent mass of various fruits Then the dancing girls performed their dance, poetic compositions were sung, people danced, wonderful feats were shown by jugglers, betals were served, water mixed with camphor and saffron was sprinkled, large gifts were given and drums were sounded, and thus the seven days were passed in great rejoicing and revelry Then approached the full-moon day when the king worshipped the banner of *Indra* with great pomp and ceremony with flowers, garments,[181] etc

174 See Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p 135, cf *Brh Bhā* (1 1856-1859) where *Indra* seduced the wife of sage Udanka, who cursed him and as a result of which *Indra* became th guilty of murder of a Brāhmana (*bambhavajjhā*) *Indra* went to Kuruksetra but the *bambhavajjhā* followed him there Later on, the gods came down from heaven divided the *bambhavajjhā* into four parts, namely menstruation of women, passing urine in water, drinking wine of a Brāhmana and seduction of the wife of a sage and took him to the heaven For the legend of Udanka see *Mahābhā* Vana 204 f

175 Harinegamesī was one of the commanders-in-chief (*pāyattāniyāhivai*) of the celestial infantry of *Indra*, who played an important part in the conception and birth legend of Mahāvīra (*Kalpa sū* 2 26) This deity is also mentioned in the *Antagada* (3 p 12) and is connected with the procreation of children.

176 1 13

177 According to a Jain legend, Bharata was the first founder of this festival It is said that *Indra* gave Bharata his finger decked with ornaments with which the latter celebrated the eight days festivals in honour of *Indra* (*Āva cū* p 213), cf also Hopkins *op cit*, p 125 *Indramaha* is also mentioned by Bhāsa (Pusalkar, *Bhasa, a study* ch XIX p 440 f), also the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Vol VIII, pp 144-53), *Mahābhārata* (I, 64 33) also see Dr Vasudeva S Agrawala's article in the *K V Rangaswami Aiyangar commemoration Vol* p 480 f

178 19, p 1174.

179 In Lāḍa, however, *Indramaha* was celebrated on the full-moon day of *srāvana* (*Nisītha cū* ibid) According to the *Rāmāyana* (IV 16 36), it was celebrated on the full-moon day of *āsvin* in the country of Gauda This festival was celebrated when rains were over and the roads were fit for war on the new-moon's days (Hopkins, *op cit* p 1251)

180 *Indalatthi* is also mentioned in the *Nāyā* 1, p 25, *Bhag* 9 6, also *Mahābhā* VII 49 12, the image of *Inda* (*Indapaḍimā*) is mentioned with a thunderbolt in hand (*Dharmmapada A*, I, p 280)

181 8, p. 136.

the deities *Nāga Bhūya, Jakkha, Inda, Khanda, Rudda, Siva* and *Vesamana* every *caturdasī, astamī, amāvasa* and *pūrnimā* as a result of which she gave birth to a son, who was called Devadinna (given by gods)[218] The *Jakkhas* are also said to have cured diseases The *Pinda Nijjutti* refers to the shrine of Manibhadra *Jakkha* which lay outside the town of Samilla in a garden and was furnished with an assembly-hall (*sabhā*) We are told that once small-pox broke out in the town and people prayed to the *Jakkha* In course of time the trouble subsided and the citizens besmeared the hall with cow-dung every *astamī* and other days[219] The *Jakkhas* were also believed to detect the unchastity of women[220] The *Jakkhas* Punnabhadda and Manibhadda seem to be more popular to them offerings of food (*maccyamāpinda*) were made[221]

So far the beneficial aspect of the *Jakkhas*[222] has been traced but they could also be evilly disposed They caused trouble to the people and often were satisfied after killing them We hear of Sūlapāni *Jakkha* who used to kill persons who stayed in his shrine It is said that his shrine was built on the bones of the dead bodies[223] Surappiya was another *Jakkha* who was painted every year and after the painting was over, the person who painted him was killed by the deity[224] A *Jakkha* is mentioned who was satisfied after feeding the Jain *sādhus* at night and thus violating their vows.[225] Then obsession by spirits (*Jakkhaggaha*)[226] played an important part in the life of the people We have already referred to the garland-maker Ajjunava, who obsessed by the *Jakkha*, killed six gangsters and his own wife with the iron mace which he held in his hand[227] The Jain monks and the nuns too were obsessed by the *Jakkhas* and were treated by exorcism (*Bhūyatigicchā*)[228] Then the north and east quarters were believed to be the haunting places of the *Jakkhas*[229] Mandapura was supposed to be the abode of the *Jakkhas*[230] Then in Golla a sickly person was not exposed outside to the fear of a *Jakkhinī*[231] Another strange belief regarding the *Jakkhas* was that they enjoyed sexual intercourse with the girls The *Uttarādhyayana cūrni* refers to a certain Brāhmana who got enamoured of his own daughter He sent a woman to her as a go-between, who explained her that it was customary in their family

218 *Nāyā* 2, p 49 f
219 245 f
220 *Das cū* p 90, cf *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, p 162
221 *Nisī cū* 11, p 709
222 For evil character of the *Jakkhas* in the *Jātakas* see Mehta's *op cit* p 324
223 *Āva cū* pp 272-4
224 *Ibid* p 87 f
225 *Bṛh Bhā* 1.4963 f
226 The *Jambu* (p 120) refers to *Indaggaha Dhanuggaha Khandaggaha Kumāraggaha, Jakkhaggaha* and *Bhuyaggaha*, also cf *Caraka*, cikitsitasthāna ch 9
227 *Anta* 6
228 *Bṛh Sū* 6 12 and its *Bhāsya* also 5 5518-26, 5540-7 3 2494-7.
229 *Ibid pī* 450 f, also 4 4962-4
230 *Ācā cū* P 331
231 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1 2380, *Visesacūrni.*

to have a sexual union with the *Jakkhas*.[232] We have already referred to the Gandıtinduga[233] *Jakkha*, who is said to have had sexual intercourse with the princess Bhaddā Then there were low types of the *Jakkhas*. The Āḍambara *Jakkha*, also known as Hiraḍikka *Jakkha*, and Ghantika *Jakkha*[234] were believed to be the *Jakkhas* of the *Mātangas* and the *Dombas* respectively. The shrine of the former was built on the bones of human beings who had died recently [235] The Ghantika *Jakkha* was believed to whisper in the ear when questioned.[236]

Like *Jakkhas* the *Vānamantarīs* or the *Jakkhinīs* also played an important role in ancient Indian life The *Vānamantarī* Sālejjā is said to have paid reverence to Mahāvīra,[237] whereas Katapūtanā gave him trouble [238] Then the *Gujjhagas* are mentioned. There was a belief among the people that the *Gujjhagas* were residents of Kailāsa and lived in this world in the form of dogs and hence dogs were to be treated with respect [239] It is said that the *Gujjhagas* like the *Devas* neither touched the earth nor winked their eyes [240]

Various feasts and festivals were celebrated in honour of the *Jakkhas* The pilgrimage to Bhandīravana, the abode of Bhandira *Jakkh* was a popular deity in Mathurā [241] Kundalamentha was another deity whose feast was celebrated near Bharuyakaccha.[242] Then the feasts were celebrat-ed in honour of the *Vānamantara* gods after completion of a new site [243] and the drums were beaten in their honour [244]

SHRINES AND TEMPLES OF THE JAKKHAS (*JAKKHĀYATANA*)

The abode of a *Jakkha* is often referred to as a *ceiya* (Pali *cetiya*) or *āyatana* in the Jain canons. In the Epics *caitya* was intimately associated with the place where Vedic sacrifice had been performed. Here sometimes *caitya* is no more than a sacred tree or a tree with an altar which is termed as resort of the *Devas*, *Yaksas*, *Rāksasas* etc., and hence not to be injured In the *Rāmāyana* we come across words such as *caityagṛha*, *caitya-prāsāda* and *caityavṛksa*. In the *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, *caityas* serve the boundary limits of a village or a *janapada*. Kautilya refers to *caityas* as houses of

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232 P 89
233 Gandatindu tree is mentioned in the *Gandatindu Jātaka* (No 520), V, p 99
234 A *Yaksa* with a bell round the neck is referred to in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, p 12, Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol 3, Pt 2 , also *Mahābhā* IX 46 24
235 *Āva. cū* II, p 227 f
236 *Vya Bhā* 7 313 , *Āva cū* II, p 229 , *Bṛh Bhā* 2 1312
237 *Āva cū* p 294
238 *Ibid* , 490 , cf the *Ayoghara Jātaka* (IV, No 510), p 491 , also *Rāmāyana*, V 24
239 *Nisī cū* 13, p 865
240 *Ogh Nir* P 150a , cf Hopkins *op cit* , p 147f, "The world of *Guhyakas* was for those who died by sword, not ignobly, but not bravely" Also see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, App I
241 *Āva cū* p 281 , the famous *nyagrodha* tree of Vṛndāvana was called Bahandīra (*Mahābhārata*, II 53 8)
242 *Bṛh Bhā* ,3150.
243 *Ibid* , 3 4769
244 *Das. cū* p 48,

gods and prominence is given here to the *caitya* worship[245] Its later meaning was explained by the commentator Abhayadevasūri as an image of a deity or the shrine which was the abode of a *vyantara* [246]

In the period when Jainism and Buddhism were in ascendency the word *ceiya* was applied to the whole sacred enclosure containing a garden grove or park and a shrine[247] Mahāvīra, Buddha and many other religious ascetics are represented as halting or resting in these shrines Some of these shrines had definitely architectural value of a temple equipped with doors and hall etc We hear of a shrine (*d ulna*) about the size of a man's hand and built of one block of stone[248] The images were made of wood and some of the *Jakkha* images were equipped with iron mace as we have seen in the case of Moggarapāṇī There was a hall (*sabhā*) attached to the shrine which was besmeared with cow-dung as we have seen We hear of the Punnabhadda shrine of Campā which was decorated with umbrella standards *saghara* bells, flags peacock feather whisk (*lomahattha*) and railing (*vedikā*), the inside floor was coated with cow-dung, walls were white-washed, it bore palm impressions in red *gosīsa* or *dardara* sandal-wood, it was beautiful with *candana k a as* and on the doors were erected *toranas* with *candanaghata* decorations The floor was sprinkled with perfumed water and garlands were hung, and it was odorous with flowers of fine colours, *kalāguru kundurukka* and *turukka*; it was haunted by actors, dancers, rope-walkers, wrestlers, boxers, jesters, ballard-singers, story-tellers, pole-dancers picture-showmen, pipers, lute-players, and minstrels Many people came to worship this shrine[249]

[illegible]

Bhutas are night wanderers going with [illegible] in troops all described as fearful and flesh-eating in Indian mythology *Bali* is offered to them[250] and a wise man pays reverence to them before going to bed Three types of *Bhūtas* are mentioned in the Epics the indifferent, the hostile and the kind All the night-wandering demoniac *Bhūtas*

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245 V R Dikshitar, *I H Q* pp 440 ff Sept 1938 Coomaraswamy *Yakṣas* p 18 Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* pp 70 72

246 *Bhag* 1 Utthana Hemacandra extends the word *c itya* in the sense of a Jain temple (*Jinasadana*) *Abhidhanacintamani* IV 60 In *Brh Bha* (I 1774 ff) four types of *ceiya* are mentioned (1) a *ceiya* made for one's own religious [illegible] (2) auspicious or *Mangala ceiya* (3) permanent or *Sasvata* [illegible] and (4) [illegible] *Bhatti ceiya* The *Paramatthajotika* I p 22? the com on the [illegible] three kinds of [illegible] *uddesika cetiya* and *dhatu* [illegible] The [illegible] (xxxvii, 153) mentions [illegible] [illegible] is also mentioned in the *Mahabharata* (II 2 104) also see Rose *Tribes and Castes of Punjab and N W Province*, Vol I p 195

247 Cf In the *Vivagasuya* (II) the Duipalasa ceiya is called Duipalasa *ujjana*

248 *Uttara* *Ti* 9 P 142

249 *Ova Sū* 2

250 The *Ā a cu* (II p 162) mentions the offering of '*bali*' to the *Bhūtas* by queen Sivā of Ujjeni

belong to the hostile group.[251] In Jain canons the term *vānamantara* is commonly used for *Yaksas* and *Rāksasas*.[252] Like *Jakkhamaha*, *Bhūyamaha* was also considered as one of the four great festivals and was celebrated on the full-moon day of the month of *caitra* as we have seen *Bhūyaggaha* or the obsession by the evil spirit is mentioned The persons suffering from the obsession of the evil spirits were treated by *Bhūyavijjā*, which prescribed soothing rites (*sāntikamma*) and offering of *bali* to *deva*, *asura*, *gandhavva*, *jakkha*, *rakkhasa* and other deities. The persons versed in demonology (*bhūyavāiya*) are referred to. There were dealers in antidotes and charmers (*gārudiya* · *bhoiya* *bhatta* . *catta*) who knew the science of spirits or exorcism and by means of various ceremonies, enchantments and preservatives (*rakkhāmandala*) cured[253] those possessed

The belief in ghosts in ancient days was so prevalent that the credulous people even thought it to be a marketable commodity The *Brhatkalpa Bhāsya* refers to a shop called *kuttiyāvana*, [254] where everything living or non-living was available It is said that there were nine such shops in Ujjenī during the reign of Candapajjova Rāyagiha also had such shops [255]

The *Pisācas* are smaller demons associated with *Bhūtas* They were supposed to eat flesh and drink blood The description of a *Pisāya* is given in the *Nāyādhammakahā*.[256] The *Pisāyas* were supposed to haunt the cemeteries and people offered them *bali* on dark nights The wrestlers were asked to visit cemeteries on dark nights and offer food to a *Bhūta* If they returned victorious they were appointed as king's wrestlers [257]

(10) AJJĀ AND (11) KOTTAKIRIYĀ

Ajjā and *Kottakiriyā* are two different forms of the goddess Durga, [258] who is also called *Candiyā* The *Ācārānga cūrni* refers to the worship (*jāga*)

251 Hopkins, *op cit*, p. 36f Three tests of recognising a *Bhūta* are mentioned it has no shadow, it cannot stand turmeric and it always speaks with a nazal twang (*Kathā-saritsāgara* I, App I) Also see Rose, *Tribes and castes of Punjab and N W Province* Vol I pp 205 ff

252 The *Uttarā* (36 207) gives eight classes of *Vānamantara* gods viz *Pisāya Bhūya Jakkha Rakkhasa*, *Kinnara*, *Kimpurisa*, *Mahoraga* and *Gandhavva* The following eight sacred trees are dedicated to these deities, *kalamba*, *tulasī* *vata*, *kandaka asoka campā nāga* and *tenduya* (*Thā* 8 654)

253 *Uttarā Tī* 1, p 5 *Uttarā Tī* 12, p 174, cf *Āva Tī* (Hari) p 399a f

254 For the fanciful meaning of the term see *Brhatkalpa Bhāsya* 3 4214, *Ibid* p 4[illegible]

255 *Brh. Bhā* 3 4214-23

256 8 p 99

257 *Vya Bhā* 1 p 92a f , *Uttarā Tī*. 3, p 74a

258 In Indian mythology *Durgā* is fond of drink and flesh and she is called *Durgā* because she saves from *durga* or difficulty Her sign is a peacock's tail and she wears diadem and snakes She has four arms and faces and carries bow, discus, noose and other weapons As slayer she is *Kaitabhanāsinī* and *Mahisasrkpriyā* (rejoicing in the blood of the demons she slays)—Hopkins, *op cit* , p 224

Hemapura was another place where the festival of *Inda* was in vogue The *Bihatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to *Indatthāna* around which gathered the five hundred girls of high family of the town with oblations *bali*) flowers and incense pots (*dhūvakaduchuya*) in their hands, praying *Inda* for their good luck *sobhagga* [182] Polasapura is mentioned as another centre of *Inda* festival [183]

(2) KHANDAMAHA

In Hindu mythology *Skanda* or *Kārtikeya*[184] was the son of Siva, and the god of war He was the commander-in-chief of the army of gods in their war with Taraka, a powerful demon, and is represented as riding a peacock [185] The festival in honour of *Khanda*, as it has been stated, was celebrated on the full-moon day of *āsoa* This festival was in vogue during the lifetime of Mahavira We are told that when the Teacher reached Savatthi a well decked image of *Khanda* was taken out in a chariot in procession [186]

The shrine of *Khanda* *Mukunda* and other deities are referred to their images were made of wood and an oil lamp remained burning in the shrines during night [187]

(3) RUDDAMAHA

There are eleven *Rudras* in Indian mythology They are represented as companions of *Indra*, servants of *Siva* and of his son and also as the escort of *Yama* who appears surrounded by them [188] The shrine of *Rudda* (*Ruddaghara*), who was considered a great deity *mahāddevatā*) is mentioned along with those of *Māi* (*Cāmundā*) *Ideuca* and *Durgā* [189] The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* refers to the temples (*ayatana*) of *Rudda* *Adambara* *Jakkha* (*Pāna*), and *Māi*, which were built on the bones of dead bodies of human beings [190] We are told that like the images of *Khanda* and *Mukunda*, the images of *Rudda* also was made of wood [191]

(4) MUKUNDAMAHA

In the Epic *Baladeva* is represented as a rustic god called *Lāngulin*, "ploughman", his weapon being the ploughshare His head is wreathed

182 4 5153
183 *Ibid* 6 p 15
184 The *Mahabh* II 32 4 mention Kumara Kartikeya as the presiding deity of Rohitaka also see *Mahabha*, IX 45
185 Hopkins, *op cit* p 227 f
186 *Āva cū* p 315
187 *Brh Bha* 2 3465 ff
188 Hopkins *op cit* p 173 for the development of the idea of Rudra-Siva see Bhandarkar's *Saivism* etc, p 102 f
189 *Nisi cu* p 236 (MSS)
190 7 313
191 *Āva cu* p 115

with snakes and his standard is a palm with three heads. His palm-sign indicates his love of wine[192] The worship of the *Mukunda* and the *Vāsudeva* were prevalent during the life-time of Mahāvira near Sāvatthī and Ālabhiyā. The images of *Baladeva* were equipped with a plough-share (*nangala*)[193]

(5) SIVAMAHA[194]

Śiva or *Mahesvara* was the lord of *Bhūtas*, burner of *Kāma* and the father of *Skanda* in Indian mythology His chief deeds were to drink the world-destroying poison, destroy *Daksa's* sacrifice and receive the falling Ganges in his mattered hair A festival in his honour as mountain-god is held in the spring-month *vaisākha* *Siva* is also called *Umāpati*[195] According to a Jain legend, *Siva* or *Mahesvara* was the son of Sujetthā, the daughter of Cetaka by mendicant Pedhāla[196].

Like the worship of *Khanda* and *Mukunda* the worship of *Siva* also was in vogue during the life-time of Mahāvīra.[197] The worship of *Dhondhasivā* also came into being from this time.[198] An image of *Siva* is referred to which was worshipped with leaves, flowers and *guggulu* (bdellium) and was given a bath with the ichor of an elephant (*gallodaya*).[199]

(6) VESAMANAMAHA

Vaisravaṇa or *Kubera* is the guardian of the north and the lord of all treasure in Indian mythology His floating palace is carried by *Guhyakas*

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192 Hopkins, *op. cit*, p 212

193 *Āva Nir* 481

194 Certain stone *lingas* have been found in the Indus valley which shows that the cult was a very popular one in those days Przyluski in his paper on "Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan" has shown that both the words *langula* (plough) and *linga* (penis) are of Austro-Asiatic origin in their origin and in their etymology they mean one and the same thing The *linga* worship was of an Aryan origin is clearly shown by the opprobrious terms applied to the phallic worshippers in *Rigveda* (Pre-Aryan Elements in Indian Culture Atul K Sur the *Calcutta Review*, Nov-Dec 1932 p 244 f) also cf Rose, *Tribes and castes of Punjab and N W Province* Vol I pp 260 ff

195 Hopkins, *op cit*, pp 219-226

196 It is said that once the nun Sujetthā was practising penance when Pedhāla approached her and creating mist (*dhūmikā*) before her eyes cohabited with her In course of time Sujetṭhā bore Satvakī, who became versed in magical spells (*vijjā*) The magical spell *Mahārohinī* made a hole in his forehead and entered his body Later on this hole was transformed into a third eye After some time Satyakī killed his father because he had raped the royal virgin Sujeṭthā Then Satyakī became an overlord of magical spells (*vijjācakkavatti*) and was called Mahesara by *Indra* Mahesara did not like Brāhmanas and so he violated the chastity of hundreds of Brāhmana girls He committed adultery with all other queens of Pajjoya excepting *Sivā* Now Mahesara began to live with Umā, a beautiful courtesan of Ujjenī. Once when he was sporting with her he was killed by Pajjoya's servants When Nandīsara, a friend of Mahesara came to know of this, he got very angry, and seized with the *vijjās*, in order to kill the citizens he ascended the sky with a slab of stone. Pajjoya asked his pardon and since then the phallus of *Siva* was placed in each and every city for worship (*Āva cū* II, p. 175 f), Hopkins *op cit*, p 226

197 *Āva Nir* 509

198 *Āva cū* p 312, *Brh Bhā* 5 5928

199 *Brh. Bhā. Pī.* 804.

where he sits clothed in jewels and surrounded by many women He wears bright ear-rings, is very wealthy has a heavenly seat and foot-stool and is refreshed by breezes from Nandana and Alakā Nalinī His city Alakā is situated on mount Kailasa and he is over-lord of *Yakṣas*, *Rākṣasas* and *Guhyakas* [200] We are told that *Vesamana* was the lord of the *Yakṣas* and guarded the northern direction [201]

(7) NĀGAMAHA [202]

The general abode of the divine serpents, according to Indian mythology, is below earth, where is found Śeṣa, the *Nāga* of a thousand heads, who supports the earth from beneath [203] According to a Jain legend, prince Bhāgīraha, the grandson of Bharaha, was the first founder of *Nāgabali*. It is stated that after the sons of Sagara were[204] burnt to death by the *Nāga* king, Bhagīraha went to draw the water of the Ganges from the neighbouring villages of Atthāvaya Bhagīraha worshipped the *Nāgas* with *bali*, flowers etc , and since then the *Nāgabali* came into vogue.[205]

The worship of *Nāga* (*Nāgajanna*) is specially mentioned In the north-east of Sāgeya[206] there lay a *Nāga* shrine (*Nāgaghara*) with an image of a serpent [207] The festival of *Nāga* (*Nāgajattā*) was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony by the queen Paumāvaī The city was swept clean and was sprinkled over with water Then a flower-house (*pupphamaṇḍava*) was made near the shrine where a beautiful huge garland was suspended The queen took bath and in the company of her friends and relations proceeded to the shrine She bathed in the lake and with still moist robe plucked the lotuses and with various flowers, fruits and the incense pot in her hand, entered the temple, where she cleaned

200 Hopkins *op cit* pp 142-148

201 *Jñā* 3, p 281

202 There is a race of people called *Nāgas* residing upon the elevated region between Assam and Manipur, who are said to be universally dreaded for the devastations they commit upon the inhabitants of the plains , and it is possible that the mythological *Nagas* may have had their origin in the fears produced by the ravages of the ancient mountaineers , Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism* p 45 London 1850 see also Rhys Davids *Buddhist India*, pp 220 ff Atul K Sur *Calcutta Review* Nov Dec 1952 p 209 Dr Vogel's *Indian Serpent Lore* (p 3 1f) for various theories of origin of *Nāga* worship

203 Hopkins *op cit* pp 23 29

204 The fire-like action ascribed to the *Nāga's* poison is exemplified by various Brāhmanic and Buddhist legends For example according to the *Mahābhārata* the *Naga Takṣaka* by his fiery bite reduced a banyan tree to ashes and set king Parikṣit's hall on fire Even the pool of the Yamunā is described as overcast with a dense smoke caused by the poison-born fire of the Nāga Kāliya (Dr Vogel *op cit* p 15)

205 *Uttarā Ti* 18 p 231a f

206 Mathurā is mentioned as a big centre of *Nāga* worship where a number of *Nāga* images have been recovered The river Vitastā in Kashmir is said to be the abode of *Nāga Takṣaka* (Dr Vogel, *op cit* , pp 41f, 229) Also see Rose, *Tribes and castes of Panjab and N W Province*, Vol I pp 147 ff

207 The *Arthasastra* (p 273) mentions an image of a serpent with a bore-hole in it

the image with a brush (*lomahatthaga*), burnt incense and worshipped the deity [208] Mention may be made of the worship of Pārsva by Dharanendra, who belongs to the *Nāgākumāra* gods.[209]

(8) JAKKHAMAHA

The worship of the *Jakkhas* was most common in ancient India and so every important city had its own shrine dedicated to the *Jakkha* [210] We are told that by practising self-restraint one is born among the *Yaksas* [211] and the *Yaksas* including the *Devas*, the *Dānavas*, the *Gandharvas* and the *Kinnaras* pay veneration to those who practise celibacy [212] Reference is made to the *Jakkha* Ganditinduga of Vārānasī, who guarded the great sage Mātanga in the Tinduga garden.[213] Bihelaga was another *Jakkha* who paid reverence to Lord Mahāvīra when the latter was engrossed in meditation.[214] The *Nāyādhammakahā* speaks of another *Jakkha* of beneficent character, viz., Selaga This *Jakkha* had the appearance of a horse (*āsarūpadhārī*) and on every *caturdasī*, *astamī*, *amāvasyā* and *pūrnamāsī* helped people He is said to have saved the two merchants from the clutches of a cruel goddess and carried them on his back to Campā [215]

The *Jakkhas* were believed to be the presiding deities of the expectant mother The *Vivāgasuya* refers to Gangadattā who had no issue She took plenty of flowers, clothes, scents, garlands, and ornaments and in the company of her friends and relatives visited the shrine of Umbaradatta *Jakkha* There she cleaned the image with a brush of peacock feathers sprinkled it with water, wiped it with woollen cloth (*pamhala*) and dressed it nicely. Then she worshipped the *Jakkha* with flowers etc. and prayed to the deity to bless her with a child.[216] Then we hear of Subhaddā, who promised the Surambara *Jakkha* one hundred buffaloes if she [illegible] blessed with a son [217] Bhaddā was another woman who wanted a[illegible]

[208] *Nāyā* 8, p 97 f. for the Buddhist conception of a *Yakkha* [illegible] *Dictionary* II, pp 675 ff: also *Milindapañha* p. 271 f

[209] *Āvā Nir.* 335 *Ti* p 385 This legend may be compared with the Buddhist [illegible] Muchilinda, the serpent king, sheltering Buddha against wind and rain (S[illegible] *op cit.* pp 102-4, 126)

[210] Even now such deities or *Jakshas* are regarded as protectors of the villages and are worshipped by men of all castes and creeds believing that the deity protects each village from epidemics of diseases (*Dist Gaz. of* [illegible] p [illegible]) The following thirteen *Jakkhas* are mentioned: Punnabhadda Manibhadda Seta-bhadda, Haritabhadda, Sumanobhadda, Vyatipātikabhadda, Subhadda Sam[illegible]bhadda, Manusvavaksa Vanādhipati, Vanāhāra, Rūpajakkha and Jakkhottama (*Abhidhāna Rājendra Kosa* under "Jakkha") The first two *Jakkhas* according [illegible] the Mahāmāyūrī, were brothers and were the presiding deities of Brahmavatī (The Geo[illegible] contents of the Mahā by Dr Sylvain Levi, tr V S Agrawal, *Journal U P* [illegible] Vol. XV, Pt. II) Manibhadra is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 10[illegible]

[211] *Uttarā Sū* 3 14f

[212] *Ibid* . 16. 16

[213] *Ibid* 12 and the com p. 173a.

[214] *Āva. Nir.* 487

[215] 9, p. 127 : cf *Valāhassa Jātaka* (II. No 196) p 129 , the ship-wrecked men are rescued by a winged horse

[216] 7, p. 42 f ; also cf. *Hatthipāla Jātaka* (IV, No. 509), p. 474.

[217] *Āva. cū.* II, p. 193.

of *Caṇḍiyā* with the sacrifice of goats, buffaloes and human beings to please the low type (*appasattha*) of god.[259] According to the Commentator the peaceful goddess Durgā is called *Ajjā* who stands like *Kūsmāṇḍinī*. The same goddess *Durgā*[260] when rides on a buffalo is called *Koṭṭakiriyā*.[261]

259 p. 61

260 The goddess *Devī* is worshipped in various forms according to her imagined age. When she is worshipped as an year old baby she is known by the name of *Sa[illegible]* of two years *Sarasvatī*, of seven years *Caṇḍikā*, of eight years, *Sambhavī* of nine years *Durgā* or *Bālā* of ten years *Gaurī* of thirteen *Mahālakṣmī* of sixteen, *Lalitā* (Gopinath [illegible] of Hindu Iconography, p. 362 f)

261 *Nāyā*[illegible] 8, p. 1[illegible]a

CHAPTER VII

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

MAGIC AND SUPERSTITIONS

Jain monks and magical practices

From the earliest ages magic and superstition occupied an important place in the social life in ancient India. Here we come across a number of magical formulas and spells to heal sickness, exorcise demons and overpower enemies, love-charms, formulæ to encompass luck for women, to achieve victory in battles and to find out hidden treasures, etc Innumerable references to magical practices are preserved in the canonical literature of the Jains.

The *Vijjānuvāda Puvva* was one of the fourteen *Puvvas* of the Jain canon wherein various spells and charms were described[1] According to the *Bhagavatī*, Gosāla was well-versed in eight divisions of *Mahānimitta*[2] and could foretell the profit and loss, happiness and sorrow and life and death of the people. It is stated in the *Pañcakalpa cūrṇi* that the disciples ordained by Ajja Kālaka never stuck to asceticism and so the latter went to the *Ājīvikas* for the study of *Nimitta* as already stated Later on Ajja Kālaka gave a show of his *Nimitta* in the presence of king Sātavāhana, who was very much pleased with him and wanted to offer him some ornaments which Kālaka refused to accept[3] Then Bhadrabāhu was a great *Naimittika* and was versed in the science of spells (*mantavijjā*), he composed the *Upasargaharastotra* and sent it to the *sangha* to avert trouble from a *vyantara*[4] Ajja Khauḍa was another Jain saint who is described to be a master of charms.[5] Thus we notice that the Jain monks practised charms and were versed in exorcism In time of emergency they got alms by conjuring (*vijjāpiṇḍa*),[6] employing incantations (*manta*), tricks (*joga*), and distributing roots and bulbs to cure various diseases[7] they

1 *Sama Ṭī* 14, p. 24a

2 The eightfold division - (1) *bhoma* (earthquake), (2) *uppāta* (any portentous phenomenon boding calamity), (3) *suvina* (dreams), (4) *antalikkha* (various colours and forms of the sky resulting from some unnatural phenomenon), (5) *anga* (movements of limbs) (6) *sara* (sounding of the birds), (7) *lakkhana* (fortune-telling from marks of the body) and (8) *vañjana* (signs of distinction)—*Thā*, 8 608, cf *Uttarā* (15-7) which refers to *chinna* (rending of clothes) *sara bhoma antalikkha, sumina lakkhana danda, vatthuvijja, angaviyāra* and *saravijaya*, *Sūya* 12 9, *Āva Ṭī* (Hari) p 660 Also cf *Digha* I p 9 which mentions *anga, nimitta, uppādo, supinam, lakkhana* and *mūsikachinna*, Law *History of Pali literature*, I p 82 f, also *Manu* VI 50

3 See Supra, p 208, also *S B. M*, p 260 f

4 *Gacchā vr* pp 93-96

5 *Āva cū* p 542, *Nisī cū.* (MSS) 10, p 101, also cf *Brh Bhā* 4 5114 ff

6 The *Piṇḍa*, 500 refers to two *kṣullakas* who by applying collyrium to their eyes made themselves invisible and enjoyed the royal food with king Candragupta

7 Pādalitta sūri is stated to have cured the headache of king Murunda *Āva cū* p 554 also *Piṇḍa Nir*, 497 f.

also employed various medicines for causing impregnation and miscarriage[8] Sometimes when the Jain *sādhus* were waylaid in a forest, they placated the sylvan deity by means of *kāyotsarga*[9]

The *Ovāiya* mentions the disciples of Mahāvīra who possessed various supernatural powers Some cured the disease simply by touching a patient with their hand At times, the phlegm of another, dirt and filth were used as medicines to cure diseases By the aid of charms they could assume any form at will (*vemvvia*) could rise through air (*jaṅghācāraṇa*), could repeat the whole stanza by reciting the first quarter (*padānusārin*), and their speech became as sweet as milk[10] Sometimes when people suffered from diseases or the country was besieged by the enemy or people died of [illegible] of enlargement of glands (*galagaṇḍa*) etc [illegible] the preceptor made a statue (*pratimā*) [illegible] spells [illegible] in the middle, which caused the [illegible] [illegible] subsided[11] During the time of religious discussions and also for achieving victory the monks employed various charms and spells[12] There were books on magic Reference has been made to *Joṇipāhuḍa* which was an important work on this subject It is stated that the person versed in this work could generate even animate objects Siddhasena Ācārya is stated to have created magical horses following the instructions laid down in this work.[13] The devices such as making a buffalo unconscious were also mentioned in *Jompāhuḍa*[14]

The group of *vijjā*, *joga* and *manta* is considered as one of the three super human qualities (*aisaya*)[15] The difference between *vijjā* and *manta* is that the former is accomplished by certain magical practices and is presided over by certain female deity such as *Prajñapti* etc, while the latter is accomplished just by reciting (*padhanasiddha*) and is presided over by a male deity, such as Harinegamesī etc[16] *Joga* is a charm or magical incantation which produces enmity allurement eradication of the enemy and cures diseases,[17] or it is defined as a magical power of rising through air by anointing one's feet[18] It is stated that the *kulapati* of Bambhadīva possessed this lore and on *aṣṭamī*, *caturdaśī* and other festival days, used to walk on the surface of river[19] Then Ajja Vaira was accomplished in this lore and by rising in the sky he went from Puriya to Māhesarī to

8 See *Piṇḍa Nir* 497-511
9 *Bṛh. Bhā* 1 3108
10 *Khīrāsavaladdhi*, *Sū* 15 p 52, also *Āva cū* pp 395 f
11 *Bṛh Bhā* 4 5106-5113
12 See *Uttarā Ṭī* 3, p 72
13 Also cf *Nisī cū* 4, p 375, *Bṛh Bhā* 2 2681
14 *Vya Bhā* 1 38 also see *Sūya Ṭī*, 8, p 165a *Piṇḍa Bhā* 44, *Prabhāvakacarita*, V, 115-127 Panhasavana Muni is stated to be the author of *Jompāhuḍa* see *Anekānta*, July Sept, Oct 1939
15 *Bṛh Bhā* 1 1235
16 *Nisī cū* p 748, *Bṛh Bhā* 1 1235; *Nāyā Ṭī* 1, p 7
17 *Nisī. cū*, p 748,
18 *Bṛh. Bhā*. 1·1235, also *Dadhivāhana Jātaka* (No. 186), II, p. 103.
19 *Nisī. cū*. 13, p 874.

get flowers for the festival of the *Pajjosavana*.[20] Vinhukumāra was another saint who is stated to have made a flight from Gangāmandira mountain to Gayapura.[21]

The *Brhatkalpa Bhāsya* describes various magical practices such as *Koua*, *Bhūi*, *Pasina*, *Pasināpasina* and *Nimitta*. *Koua*[22] constitutes (1) *vinhavaṇa*, i e., giving auspicious bath at cemetery or cross-roads to procure good luck for women for protecting children[23] : (2) *homa*, i.e., offering oblation to the sacrificial fire for averting evil ; (3) *siraparirayā*, i e., incantation accompanied with the movements of head (com hands?), (4) *khāradahana*, i.e., throwing salt in fire for the cure of the diseases ; (5) *dhūva*, i e., throwing incense in the fire ; (6) *asarisavesaggahana*, i.e., changing apparel, the man taking to the costume of a woman, (7) *avayāsana*, i.e., embracing the trees; (8) *utthubhana*, i.e., spitting with the sound *thu thu* for pacification of bad luck and (9) *bandha*, i.e., fastening a talisman. *Bhūikamma* means besmearing the body with the consecrated ashes as a protective charm.[24] Sometimes damp earth was applied or a thread was tied in place of ashes. The monks practised this charm for protecting their residence, body and ritual paraphernalia against thieves etc. *Bhūikamma* is also referred to in the *Āvasyaka curni*[25] where it is said that after performing this practice a protective amulet (*rakkhāpottaliya*)[20] was tied to a new born babe. In *Pasina* a question is asked to the deity who descended in a thumb nail, in the leavings left after eating *kamsāra* (a kind of sweet) etc., cloth, mirror, sword, water, wall or an arm In *Pasināpasina* the question is answered by the deity possessed of charms who appears in dreams ; or the Ghantika *yakṣa*, the family deity of Ḍombī, when asked a question, whispers in her ear, and she refers it to others *Nimitta* was another practice, by which one could have a knowledge of profit and loss regarding present, past and future *Cūdāmani* was an important work on *Nimitta*.[27] Then there were love-charms which were magically effective and by which women could regain their husband's lost affection[28] The *Nāyādhammakahā* refers to the following contrivances : powder prepared from various ingredients causing stiffness (*cuṇṇajoya*), employment of incantations (*mantajoya*), charms causing leprosy and other diseases (*kammanajoya*), causing beauty (*kammājoya*),

20 *Āva. cū*, p. 396
21 *Uttarā Tī* 18, p 248a.
22 According to the *Vya Bhā.* (1 p 116af), however, *Koua* means wonderful feats performed by a juggler by putting the iron balls in his mouth and taking them out through ear or nose, or taking out fire from his mouth
23 The king Siddhattha is described to have performed hundred protective charms (*kouyasaya*) after taking his bath (*Kalpa* 4 62), cf *Asilakkhana Jātaka* (No 126) I. p 456
24 *Nisī cū* 13, p. 850
25 p 140
26 *Raksāvidhi* is described in the *Caraka*, Śarīrasthāna, VIII, 75, p 155 f
27 *Brh. Bhā.* 1 1308-13
28 The *Sūya Ṭī.* (II, 2 p 336) refers to a mendicant versed in the magical spells He used to carry off the women of Rāyagiha by his charms Once the king detected him and returned the women to their respective husbands One woman did not want to go back but when the bones of the mendicant rubbed in milk were given to her she returned to her husband,

captivating heart (*huauddāvana*), captivity of body (*kāuddā ana*), subjugation (*ābhiogna*), fascination (*vasīkarana*), roots, bulbs, skin, creeper (*valli*), *kirāta* herb[29] (*silā*), pills[30] medicine (*cula*) and mixture (*bhesaja*).[31]

ACQUISITION OF SPELLS

Various practices are described to acquire these spells. Rites were performed on the days of dark *caturdasī* and *astamī*[32] and the charms were acquired with the help of the dead body of an uninjured person, endowed with auspicious marks.[33] The name of Satyakī has been already mentioned, who went to the cemetery for securing the *Mahārohini* spell. First he set fire to the pyre with the dead body of an orphan ... and then covering himself with a moist skin moved about slowly on his left toe till the pyre was kindled. Thus within seven nights Satyakī acquired the spells.[34]

Then there was magical power of rising in the sky (*khecarī vijjā*). We hear of a thief who went to the burial ground, put up a hanger there with burning charcoal and a pike below. The thief after chanting the spells eight hundred times cut off one string of the hanger and thus cutting off the four strings achieved the *vijjā*.[35] It is mentioned in the *Uttarādhyayana* commentary that Nattumatta, a *vijjāhara*, in order to attain efficiency in certain *vijjā* went to a bamboo-grove (*vamsakudaga*) and having fastened his feet up, and inhaling smoke started practising penance.[36] Then we are told of a king who wanted to learn spells from a Mātanga which he could learn only when he occupied a lower seat.[37] It was a belief that the spells lost their efficacy when one uttered falsehood.[38]

Besides, gods with superhuman powers were also propitiated. We are told that in order to propitiate a god, Abhayakumāra went to his fasting-hall and sat there keeping aside his ornaments, garlands and perfumes observing a three days' fast. In course of time the god was forced to give up his seat in heaven and created artificial rains on the mountain Vebhāra as desired by Abhayakumāra.[39] Another god, propitiated by king Paumanāha, kidnapped queen Dovaī and brought her from Hatthi-

29 The *Nisī cu* (15 1005) refers to the consecrated flowers given to a woman to fascinate her by a *sarajaska* ascetic

30 The *Uttarā T* (13 p 190a) refers to a pill given by a mendicant to Varadhanu which, keeping in his mouth Varadhanu felt unconscious and the royal servants taking him to be dead left him and went away. The same work (8 p 2...) refers to the maid-servant of king Udāyana who was turned beautiful by taking a pill; also see "Magic in the Sanskrit Drama" by Virginia Saunders, *J A O S* Vol 45 2 1925

31 14 p 152

32 *Nisī cū*, *Pī* p 7, *Bṛh Bhā P* 20

33 *Ācā Tī*, 1 6, *Tī*, p 6 a

34 *Āva cu*, II p 175

35 *Āva Tī* (Hari), p 814 a

36 3, p 189 a

37 *Das cu* p 45, cf *Chava Jātaka* (No 309) III, p 28

38 *Das cu* p 100, cf *Amba Jātaka* (No 474) IV p 202

39 *Nāyā* 1, p 15 f

nāpura to Avarakaṅkā.[40] Still another god by means of his magical power is stated to have constructed a bridge over the Lavaṇa ocean.[41]

Other Magical spells are arranged here alphabetically:—

Ābhogiṇī.

By muttering this charm one was able to know the mind of others.[42]

Addaa vijjā.

By means of this charm a patient was cured after casting his reflection into a mirror.[43]

Addhavetālī.

By uttering this charm a stick was put down; it was a counter-spell to the "*veyālī*" spell.[44]

Āhavvaṇī.

It produced instantaneous disaster.[45]

Āmayakaraṇī.

It made a person sick.[46]

Antaddhāṇī

It made a person disappear.[47]

Anteurī.

In this charm, by uttering the name of a patient, if one's own body was wiped, the patient was cured.[48]

Āyamiṇī.

It forced a person to come to one.[49]

Biḍālī.

It appeared like a cat, and was a counterspell to the "mouse" spell.[50]

Capeṭī.

In this spell a patient being slapped was cured.[51]

Dabbha

In this spell a patient being wiped with *dabbha* grass was cured.[52]

Dāmilī.

It was a charm possessed by the Draviḍas.[53]

Dubbhagākara.

It made a person miserable.[54]

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40 *Ibid* 16, p 180
41 *Ibid* 16, p. 190.
42 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3·4633
43 *Vya Bhā* 5·136-138, p 27
44 *Sūya* II 2·30
45 *Ibid*, *Āthabhana* is also mentioned in the *Sutta Nipāta*, Tuvattaka Sutta 4 15 52 13
46 *Sūya.*, *op cit*
47 *Ibid*
48 *Vya. Bhā op cit.*
49 *Sūya.* II. 2 27 trans by Jacobi, *S.B E.*, Vol XLV, p 367.
50 *Āva. Nir* 137 (Hari).
51 *Vya. Bhā. op. cit*
52 *Ibid*
53 *Sūya. op. cit.*
54 *Ibid.*

Dūtī

It cured snake-bite of a person even if the same spot of a messenger (*dūta*) carrying the news of snake-bite was rubbed [55]

Gabbhākara

It caused pregnancy in a woman [56]

Gaddabhī

In this spell whosoever heard the braying of a female donkey, vomited blood, was overpowered with fear and lost his senses It is said that this spell was possessed by king Gaddabhilla [57]

Gandhārī **

It was a spell of the Gandharvas [58] It was one of the four important spells [59]

Gorī **

It was one of the four important spells [60]

Jambhanī

It was a certain magical formulary used for exercising the evil spirits supposed to possess weapons [61]

Jānārāī.

By means of this spell one could find out the past history of a person [62]

Kāī

It appeared like a female crow and was a counterspell to the "she owl" spell.[63]

Kalingī

It was a charm possessed by the Kalingas [64]

Kuhedaivijjā

It was a magic trick

Lesanī

It made a person cling to some thing [66]

Mīī

It appeared like a female deer and was a counterspell to the "tigress" spell [67]

Mohanakara

It was a magical charm used to bewilder an enemy,[68] it was directed by Jain monks against thieves [69]

55 *Jya Bla op cit* It is an example of sympathetic magic
56 *Surya op cit*
57 *Nisi cu* 10, p 571 ff
58 *Surya op cit*, The *Gandhara* charm is mentioned in the *[illegible]* [illegible] is a charm for making oneself invisible also *Digha* I p 21[illegible]
59 *[illegible]* p 161 *[illegible] Ti* 7 203 also *Brh Bha* 1 2[illegible]
60 *[illegible]* also *Surya op cit*
61 *Surya op cit* cf the *jrmbhaka* weapons mentioned in the *Uttararama* [illegible] as magic weapons *J* [illegible]
62 *Uttara Ti* 13 p 189 [illegible]
63 *[illegible] op cit Uttara Ti* 3 2
64 *Surya op cit*
65 *Uttara Su* XX 45
66 *Surya op cit*
67 *[illegible] op cit Uttara Ti op cit*
68 *Brh Bh* [illegible]
69 *Surya op cit*

Morī

It appeared like a peahen and was a counterspell to the "scorpion" spell [70]

Mūsaga.

It appeared like a mouse and was a counterspell to the "cat" spell.[71]

Naulī.

It appeared like a female mungoose and was a counterspell to the "snake" spell.[72]

Osavaṇī.

It was a charm for putting a person to sleep.[73]

Ovāī.

It appeared like a female hawk and was a counterspell to the "*poyaī*" spell.[74]

Ovayaṇī.

It made a thing fall down [75]

Pāgasāsaṇī.

It was a magic art of conjuring or trickery[76] which produced illusion.

Pakkamaṇī **

It made a person giddy.[77]

Paṇṇatti.

It was one of the four important magic arts. It was an art of fore-telling [78]

Poyaī

It appeared like a female bird (*śakunikā*) and was a counterspell to the "female hawk" spell [79]

Rohiṇī or *Mahārohiṇī.*

It was one of the four important charms [80]

Sankarī

This charm was acquired just by reciting '*padhiyasiddha*'. After this charm was recited it was surrounded by friends, servants etc and carried out the commands [81]

Sappa

It appeared like a snake and was a counterspell to the "female mungoose" spell.[82]

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70 *Āva Nir op. cit*, *Uttarā Ṭī op cit.*
71 *Ibid*
72 *Ibid*
73 *Sūya. op. cit*, *Āva cū*, p. 144 *Kalpa.* 2·27, also *Nāyā*. 16, p 186 *Nisī Pī* p 193 *Vasu*, p. 7
74 *Āva Nir. op cit*, *Uttarā Ṭikā, op. cit.*
75 *Sūya op cit*, *Das cū* p 45
76 *Sūya op. cit*
77 *Ardhamāgadhi Dictionary*, Vol. III, p 384, Ratanchandraji *Sūya op cit*
78 *Āva cū*, p 161; *Uttarā Ṭī*, 9, p 138, 18, 238a It is mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*—a magical art personified as one of the *Vidyādevīs* (M Williams' *Sanskrit English Dictionary*)
79 *Āva. Nir. op. cit, Uttarā Ṭī op cit*
80 *Āva cū op cit*, *Kalpa Ṭī. op cit.*
81 *Uttarā Ṭī.* 13, 189a, 194.
82 *Uttarā. Ṭī* 3, 72

*Sīhī.***

It appeared like a lioness and was a counterspell to the "female boar" spell [83]

Sovāgī (or *Māyangī*)

It was a charm of the *cāndālas* [84]

Sovarī.

It was a charm of sorcery (*sambarī*) [85]

Subhagākara

It made a person happy [86]

Tālaunta

By means of this charm by rubbing the charmed fan a patient was cured.[87]

Tālugghāḍinī

It was a spell used for opening a lock [88]

Thambinī.

This spell produced the magical arresting of any feeling or force, as of hunger, thirst, or of the forces of water, fire etc [89] The Jain monks employed this magical spell to supress water, fire or air when their residence was in danger, this spell was also directed against thieves [90]

Ulugi

It appeared like a female owl and was a counterspell to the "female crow" spell [91]

Ucchittho

In this charm if a monk was driven out by a caravan or his food and drink were stopped or he suffered from intense pain or snake-bite another monk applied filth to his lips rinsed his mouth with urine (*moka*) and by chanting the magical formulae relieved the fellow monk of his distress [92]

Uppayanī (or *Unnamanī*)

It made a thing assume the same position as previously [93]

Vagghī

It appeared like a tigress and was a counterspell to the "female deer" spell [94]

Vañjana

In this charm, by rubbing charmed food a patient was cured.[95]

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83 *Ibid*

84 *Suya* [illegible] B [illegible] I [illegible] p 132 [illegible] Bombay 193[illegible]

85 *Suya op cit*

86 *Ibid*

87 [illegible] *Bh* [illegible]

88 *Suya op cit* [illegible] 110 [illegible] p [illegible]

89 *Suya op cit*

90 *Brh Bh* [illegible] p 7

91 *Āa* [illegible]

92 *Brh Bh* [illegible] 98 [illegible]

93 *Suy* [illegible] spell by means of which one is able to [illegible] upward (*Kalas* [illegible] XXXVI [illegible])

94 *Āa* [illegible]

95 [illegible] the name of a female demon supp[illegible] the hair of a woman's pudenda (M Williams *Sanskrit English Dictionary*)

Varāhī.

It appeared like a female boar and was a counterspell to the "lioness" spell.[96]

Vattha.

By uttering this spell or by rubbing a piece of cloth a patient was cured.[97] The Jain monks employed this charm for curing snake-bite and carbuncle.[98]

Vegavaī.

By means of this spell one is able to rise up swiftly.[99]

Vetālī (or *Veyālinī*).

This was a magic art which brought dead bodies to life.[100] According to the *Uttarādhyayana* commentary, by this spell a *Vijjāhara* kidnapped a woman.[101]

Vicchuya.

It appeared like a scorpion and was a counterspell to the "peahen" spell.[102]

Visallakaranī.

It made a person free from a pointed weapon or from pain (*visalla*).[103]

THE VIJJĀHARAS

The *Vijjāharas* or "wisdom-holders" were spirits like fairies or sylphs who occupied an important place in the Jain texts.[104] The *Vijjāharas* were essentially spirits of the air (*khecara*) and were described as travelling in their excellent cars (*varavimāna*) which they could make at their will. They are represented as devotees of Jain religion and frequently we meet them bound for the pilgrimage of the Nandīsara dīva or the Atthāvaya mountain.[105] The *Vijjāharas* also joined the Jain ascetic order;[106] they are

96 *Āva. Nir., op. cit.*; *Uttarā. Ṭī. op. cit.*

97 *Vya. Bhā. op. cit.*

98 *Brh. Bhā.* 3-3907. According to M. Williams *Sanskrit Dictionary* ... *vidyā* is a wrong reading for *vāsta vidyā* which is a science in building.

99 *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 18, 247. *Vegavati* is a name of a vidyādharī in the *Kathā* ... M. William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

100 *Sūya. op. cit.*

101 18, p. 242a. *Vetālasiddhi* is mentioned in Buddhist literature.

102 *Uttarā. op. cit.*

103 *Sūya. op. cit.* Also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 25-35.

** These spells are also mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna* (xxxiii, 636 f).

104 The *Vijjāhara* also appears in the Bharhut Inscriptions (209). The ... are said to be a king of semi-human beings possessing the knowledge of magic arts and resident in the Himalaya mountains (Hoernle's Readings from the Bharhut stūpa). In the ... *Jātaka* (No. 391) III, p. 303 f. they are described as a being given to ... dalliance and seduction, and accustomed to perform by day penances ... ment in a cremation ground, standing on one leg while saluting the sun ... *Jātaka* (No. 436), III, p. 528. The *Vāyupurāṇa* (LXIX) enumerates three original *gaṇas* of *Vidyādharas*, which gave rise to several *gaṇas* of the ... *Inscriptions*, p. 89 f; Barua and Sinha, also see *Mārkaṇḍeya*, pp. 401-41.

105 *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 9, p. 137a f.; 18, p. 195a.

106 *Brh.*, 2, p. 135.

represented as wicked beings carrying off the maidens during the time of their wedding.[107] The home of the *Vijjāharas* was chiefly the mountain Veyaddha. Several *Vijjāhara* rulers are mentioned.[108]

THE RELATION BETWEEN HUMAN BEINGS AND THE VIJJĀHARAS

There were congenial relations between the human beings and the *Vijjāharas* and there were intermarriages. We are told that king Seniya had friendship with a certain *Vijjāhara* and he gave his sister in marriage to him.[109] Then Bambhadatta,[110] Sanakkumāra[111] and Mahāpauma[112] are stated to have married the *Vijjāhara* girls. We are told that *Vijjāhara* Nattumatta, unable to bear the prowess of a princess, went to acquire lore for achieving equality with her.[113] Besides we are told that the *Vijjāharas* attended upon human beings and helped them in time of distress.[114] There were also battles between human beings and the *Vijjāharas*.[115]

SUPERSTITIONS

Jain texts give us quite a number of superstitions[116] some of which survive even to this day. In the Jain texts we frequently come across the stock-phrase "*nhāyam kayabalikammam kayakouyamangalapāyacchittam*"[117] i.e., having bathed, having made the offering to the house-gods,[118] and having performed auspicious and expiatory rites (*pāyacchitta*). These rites were so common in those early days that they were performed before going to pay a visit to a temple, a saint, king or a great man.[119]

Various kinds of superstitions were in vogue in ancient days. The superstition regarding four directions is mentioned.[120] We hear that

107 *Ibid*, 9, p 137a, 13 p 189a, 18, p 238
108 Cf *Uttarā Ti* 22 p 227, 18 p 241a, 18 p 238, 13 p 193a, 9 p 135, 18 p 247. It is stated that Nami and Vinami, the sons of Kaccha and Mahakaccha were brought up like his own sons by Usabha. But when Usabha renounced the world and distributed the kingdom among his sons, Nami and Vinami were not present. Later on when they approached Usabha and asked for their share Dharana gave them forty eight thousand *vijjas*, among which Mahārohini, Pannatti, Gori, Vijjumuhi, Mahajāla, Tirikkhamani and Bahurūvā were the chief. Afterwards in the northern region of Veyaddha Vinami established sixty towns such as Gaganavallabha, etc., and in the southern region Nami established fifty towns such as Rahaneuracakkavāla etc. (*Kalpa Ti* p 203, *Vasu* p 164), also *Paumacariya*, III, 144 ff, V 13 ff, *Āva cū* p 161 f)
109 *Āva cū* II, p 160
110 *Uttarā Ti* 13, p 194
111 *Ibid*, 18, p 237
112 *Ibid*, 18, p 247
113 *Ibid*, 13, p 189a
114 See *ibid*, 18, p 238a, also cf *Vasu* p 243
115 See *Uttara* 18 p 238a, *ibid* 18, p 247a
116 Cf the *Mahamangala Jataka* (IV No 453) p 73 ff where a variety of omens is preached and it is said that goodness and kindness are the best omens; also *Khuddakapātha*, Mangala Sutta, *Ramayana* II 25, III, 69 21 ff
117 Cf *Naya* 16 p 181 etc, *Kalpa* 4 67
118 *Balikarma* is mentioned in the *Rgveda* in the sense of tribute to a king or offering to a god (*Vedic Index* II p 62). *Gautama* V 9-17, also see *Manusmṛti* (ch VIII), *Caraka*, ch XI 3 p 1657, *Kathāsaritsāgara* I ch III, p 21n, *Ramayana* II 71.38
119 Cf *Naya* 16, 181, 2 51, *Kaya Su* 148, *Kalpa*, 4 67
120 See *Brhtsamhita* 85 20 ff and the whole chapter on other superstitions

when a person renounced the world and approashed to the Teacher in a litter, he always occupied a seat facing the east.[121] For disposing of the dead bodies, it is stated that first of all the monks should select the south-west direction, then south, then west, then south-east, then north-west, then east, then north and finally the north-east direction should be selected.[122]

Then the ancient people were superstitious regarding planets It is stated that at the time of taking out a dead body of a monk, a suitable planet must be selected, otherwise the monks would undergo *pāyacchitta* [123] Then superstitions are mentioned regarding travelling ; when the monks travelled from one place to another, they took into consideration the *tithi karana* and the *nakkhatta* The fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth and twelfth days of dark and bright months were considered auspicious [124] The sight of the following objects was considered inauspicious : a person wearing dirty clothes, rags or anointed with oil, a dog going from left to right, a hunchback, a dwarf, a woman advanced in pregnancy, an old maiden, a person carrying a load of wood or wearing coloured clothes and a '*kuccandhara*' ascetic.[125] It is stated that while going to a physician the monks should go in odd numbers either in three or five ,[126] at the time of departure if somebody sneezed or asked question as to where they were going or the monks had a fall or stumbled or their head struck against something, it boded evil.[127]

The auspicious *tithi*, *karana* and *nakkhatta*[128] were selected when tradesmen made a sea-voyage. We have already referred to Arhannaga and other merchants of Campā who, after feeding their friends and relations in auspicious time, left for the harbour, and when the *pūsa* (*pusya*) constellation was in ascendancy, released the ropes of the boat [129]

Among auspicious objects mention is made of twelve kinds of musical instruments being beaten simultaneously (*nandītūra*), full vessel,[130] the sound of conch-shell and drum, a golden pitcher, umbrella, chowries, conveyance (*vāhana*), carriage (*yāna*), the *samaṇas*, flowers, sweet-balls (*modaka*), curds,[131] fish, bell, and flags.[132] Although the *sramanas* in general were considered auspicious but it is said that the *rattapadas*, *caragas* and *tāpasas*, including the sick, crippled, those who suffered from sickness, the physicians, those who wore dyed clothes or applied dust to

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121 Cf *Nāyā* 1, p 31.
122 *Bṛh. Bhā* 4 5505 f; also cf *Bhag Ārādhanā* V 1970 f, cf *Manu* V 92
123 *Ibid*, 4 5527 ; also *Bhag Ārā* 1988.
124 *Vya Bhā* 1, 125 ff, p. 40a
125 *Ogha Bhā* 82 ff p. 74 ; *Bṛh Bhā* 1·1545 ff
126 *Bṛh. Bhā* 1.1028.
127 *Ibid*, 1 1921-24.
128 See also *Bṛh Samhitā*, chs. 98, 99 and 100.
129 Supra p 118
130 But the robbers and farmers took an empty jar as auspicious (*Bṛh Bhā* pi 10)
131 Cf *Caraka* (Śarīrasthāna), ch. xii, 70-6,
132 *Bṛh. Bhā*, 1.1549 f,

their body boded evil.[133] It is stated that the sight of a *cakracara* indicated roaming about at random, that of a *pandurangа* starvation, that of a *tac-cannika* bloodshed and that of a *bodiya* death without fail.[134] Fire in the country of Sindhu and burning of string in Lāṭa were regarded as good omens.[135] Among animals and birds, the jackal,[136] *cāsa*,[137] peacock *bhāradvāja*, and mungoose were considered auspicious and if they were seen in the south they were considered to bring all wealth.[138] Then the trees without leaves such as *karīra* etc., the thorny bushes and trees, the trees shattered due to lightening, those having bitter juice such as *rohiṇī*, *kuṭaja* and *nimba* etc., and the trees burnt of conflagration, were considered as bad omens. Then the bones and the corpse were considered inasupicious and after seeing them a monk was prohibited from studying the scriptures.[139]

Among other superstitions the following may be mentioned: the newly born babes were put under the cart for procuring a long life.[140] People put on moist robes while visiting sacred places[141] or great persons.[142] We read of the mother of Meghakumāra who at the time of renunciation of her son, collected his hair in a fine cloth, washed them with scented water, put over them the marks of five fingers, moistened with *gosīsa* sandal and tied them in a piece of white cloth. Then she kept them in a jewelled casket which she kept under his pillow with the hope of having a look at them on the occasions of various feasts and festivals.[143] The priests were employed to perform sacrifice for warding off evil.[144] Then, at the death of a monk various superstitions were observed such as spreading of grass and making images with ashes, brick powder or *nāgakesara* near the dead body.[145] *Chinna* (rending of clothes) was considered another superstition. It is said that when a cloth is smeared with collyrium or lamp-black or dirt, gnawed by rats, burnt by fire, destroyed or eaten at the borders, there arises a good or evil result out of that.[146] Then in a newly constructed house the living of the monks was considered auspicious and the entrance of the doves inauspicious.[147]

133 *Ibid* 1 1548, cf 1 2291 f
134 *Ogha Bhā* 82 ff p 74, also cf *Bṛh Bhā* 1 2637, 1 1451
135 *Āva Ṭī* p 5a
136 Compare however, *Āva cū* II, p 179, See also ch 89 (śivāruta) ch 94 (vāyasaviruta) and ch 90 (mṛgaceṣṭita) in the *Bṛh Saṁhitā*
137 There was a belief that by constructing a house at a place where *cāsa* was sitting a king got jewels (*Āva cū* II, 179) There was another belief that eating of a snake imparts the power of understanding the languages of birds and beasts (*Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol II, ch xx, p 108, f n)
138 *Ogha Bhā* 108 ff
139 *Nisī cū* 19, pp 1171 ff
140 *Vivā* 4, p 30
141 Cf *Rāya Sū* 170
142 Cf *Nāyā* 16, p 193, cf *Udāna* 2 17
143 *Nāyā* 1, p 30
144 See Supra, p 58.
145 See *Bṛh Bhā* 4 5533 ff, *Bhag Ṭīā* V 1982, 1996 ff
146 *Uttarā* by Charpentier, p 336, Varāhamihira treats vastracchedalakṣaṇam in ch 70, also cf *Mangala Jātaka* (No 87), I, p 371 ff
147 *Vya* 7 48 Also see *Tribes and castes of Punjab and N W Province* Vol. I, pp. 223 ff

SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS

Various sports and amusements were prevalent in ancient India when people enjoyed with their friends and companions. Various terms such as *chaṇa*, *utsava*, *pamoya pavva* or *saṅkhaḍi* are used to denote festivals or festivities in ancient days. A *chaṇa* was celebrated for a limited period and sweetmeats (*pakvānna*) were prepared on the occasion, whereas there was a time limit in *utsava* and even ordinary food was enough for the occasion.[148]

Various toys and playthings are mentioned for small boys and girls Reference is made to cowries (*khullaya*), lac-marbles (*vaṭṭaya*), game of tip-cat (*aḍoliyā*), ball (*tindusa*), doll (*pottulla*) and cloths (*sādollaya*) [149] Then we had bow (*sarapāyaya*), the bullock (*gorahaga*), earthern pot (*ghaḍi-ga*), drum (*ḍiṇḍima*), and the ball of cloth (*celagola*).[150]

For grown-up people there were public gardens where people clad in nice dress, went hand in hand with their lovers for merry-making They left their homes in the morning and spending the whole day in the open air returned in the evening. Reference has been made to two merchants of Campā who went for a picnic in the company of a courtesan [151] There were special parks for the kings.[152] Then people went for picnics to a river (*nadī*), pond (*sara* or *taḍāga*), tree (*rukkha*),[153] shrine (*ceiya*) and mountain (*giri*).[154]

Jain texts mention various festivities and pastimes. The feast of *puṇṇamāsinī* was celebrated on the full moon day of the month of *kārtika*.[155] On the day of *kaumudīmahotsava* men and women left their residence after sunset and spent whole night in enjoyment.[156] *Madanatrayodaśī* was another festival which was celebrated in honour of *Kāma*, the Indian cupid.[157] Then *ujjāṇiyā* feast is mentioned which was celebrated in Sindhunandana when the women of the town enjoyed in various ways.[158] The festival in honour of *Nagaradevatā* was celebrated in which the cir-

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148 *Vātsyāyana* classified the occasional festivities into five groups (1) The festivals in connection with the worship of different deities (*samāja, yātrā* and *ghaṭā*) sometimes attended with grand processions, (2) *goṣṭhīs* or social gatherings of both sexes, (3) *āpānakas* or drinking parties, (4) *udyānayātrās* or garden-parties and (5) various social diversions in which many persons took part (*samasyākrīḍā*)—*Kāmasūtra Sū* 26, p 44

149 *Nāyā* 18, p. 207.

150 *Sūya* 2 13 f, for other games and recreation see *Dīgha* I, p 6, also *Majjhima* I, p 266, *Sumangala Vilāsinī*, Pt. I, pp. 84 f.

151 See Supra, p 166, cf *Kāmasūtra*, chakladar, *Social life in ancient India* p. 163

152 *Pinda. Nir.* 214-5.

153 The *Jīvā* (3, p, 151a) refers to the festival of planting of trees (*rukkharovana*)

154 *Nāyā*. 1, p. 39, *Jīvā op cit*; *Niśītha cūrṇi* (12, p 808) mentions *aḍadamaha, sāgaramaha, thūbha, gāmamahajattā, nagaramaha, madambamaha, donamuha, pattana, āgāra, sambāha*, and *sannivesa*. Mountain worship is mentioned in the *Arthsāstra* (p 237) For river worship and tree worship see Rose, *Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N W Province* Vol I, p 134f,

155 *Bṛh. Bhā* 2·1451, also mentioned in the *Vaṭṭaka Jātaka* (No 118), I, p 432 f

156 *Sāya. Ṭī* 11·75, p 413; also *Dīgha*. I, p. 47, cf *Kāmasūtra*, chakladar, *op cit* p 170.

157 *Nāyā. Ṭī* 2, p. 80a.

158 *Uttarā. Ṭī*. 18, p. 246a,

circumambulation of the temple was held[158] In the festival known as *bahumlakkhamaha* many non-Aryan people (*mleccha*) assembled;[160] *dāsīmaha* was celebrated by the maid-servants,[161] then *thānuppāiyamaha* had no fixed day and it was held at any time whenever the guests were received.[162] Then the feast of[163] noodles (*ittaga*, corn *sevakikā*) is mentioned Then the birthday feast was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony as we have seen already[164] *Cāummāsiyamajjanaya* was another ceremony which was held after four months of rainy season We are told that during this ceremony a flower-house was made on the high road which was decorated with beautiful huge garlands and the designs in five coloured rice grains were prepared over the city Then the princess was seated on the throne facing the east and was given a bath with white and yellow pitchers and afterwards was decorated with all kinds of ornaments[165] Then we had *samvaccharapadilehana* or the annual birthday feast.[166] The *Vivāgasuya* refers to ten days feast celebrated after the completion of a *kūdāgārasālā* We are told that during this period the king made his subjects free from taxes[167]

Among religious festivals the *pajjosana* was the most favoured festival of the Jains. This festival was held on *punnimā*, *pañcamī*, *dasamī* and other *pavva* days Later on, we are told that from the time of Ajja Kālaga in place of *pañcamī* the day of *caturthī* was declared as the day of *pajjosana* It is stated that once Kālaga arrived in the city of Patitthana where he was received with great pomp by king Salivāhana Kalaka had declared the fifth day of the bright half of *bhādrapada* as the day of *pajjosana* but since this was the day fixed for the festival of Indra, at the request of the king, Kālaka changed the day of *pañcamī* to *caturthī* This festival was also known as *samanapūya*[168]

Sankhadi (*Sankhati* in Pali)[169] or *bhojja* was another great feast which played an important part in ancient India *Sankhadi* is so called because at this time animals were killed in large numbers[170] This feast was celebrated either for one day (*egadivasam*) or for many days (*anegadivasam*) in the first part of the day (*puvasankhadi*) or after sunset (*pacchasankhadi*) *Girijanna* (*giriyajna*) is mentioned in Vraja when food was taken at night and the milk was drunk early in the morning *arunodayavelā*)[171] *Girijanna* was also celebrated in Lāta during rainy season[172] In order to enjoy a *saṅkhaḍi*, people made a pilgrimage to different places In Selapura

158 *Āva Ti* (Hari) p 397 a f
160 *Nisi cu* 12, p 810
161 *Uttara Ti* 8, p 124
162 *Brh Bha* 1 1814
163 *Pinda Nir* 466 *Visi cu* 13 p 870 Perhaps it may correspond to the feast of *raksabandhana* or *saluno* held in North India
164 See Supra p 1?0
165 *Nāya* 8, p 103
166 *Ibid*, 8, p 96
167 3 p 27
168 *Nisi cu* 10, p 632 f
169 See *Majjhima* I, p 448
170 See Supra p 126 also *Brh Bh* 1 3140
171 *Ibid*, 4 4881 Also cf *Mbhārata*, II 53 22, *Harivamsa*, II 17 11 ff
172 *Brh Bhā* 1 2855, *N* 11 p 695

sankhaḍis were held every year at the lake *Isitalāga* for eight days. These feasts were also celebrated in Bharuyakaccha, Pabhāsa, Abbuya, at the eastern bank of the river Sarassaī near Ānandapura, Ujjenta, Nāyasanda and Siddhasilā. In these *sankhaḍis* the monks of other sects such as *Śākya*, *Bhauta* and *Bhāgavatas* assembled ; there were regular discussions between them. There in the gardens the drunken voluptuaries dressed in fantastic garments, gesticulated with their hands and sang erotic songs , and there the men and women, drunk and decked in fineries, played. The Jain monks were allowed to attend these feasts only if held at holy places, because only at holy places they could preserve their right faith (*samyaktva*), otherwise there was possibility of their being insulted, poisoned or even killed at the hands of heretics [173]

Then various household ceremonies are mentioned *Avāha* was held before wedding when betel etc. were served : *vivāhā* was the wedding ceremony ;[174] *āheṇa* was held at the time of the bride entering the bridegroom's house ; *paheṇa* was celebrated when she returned to her father's house. Then *hingola* was held in honour of the diseased person or a *jakkha*, in *pindamigaṇa*, food was offered to fathers. Then *sammela* or *gotthī* was a social gathering in which the relatives and friends assembled [175] The *gotthīs* are described as having been granted licences by the king, as given to much dissipation and as possessing considerable funds.[176] Then taverns (*pānāgāra*) and gambling houses (*jūyakhalaya*) are mentioned [177]

Lastly we come to combat or wrestling which was a favourite pastime of rich people. The kings took keen interest in it, and they appointed their own wrestlers. We are told that king Sīhagiri of Sopāraya offered money to wrestlers who came out victorious The wrestler Attaṇa of Ujjayini took part in the wrestling tournament (*juddhamaha*) every year and won the flag of honour. He went as far as Kosambī and defeated the royal wrestler and was honoured by the state [178] There were wrestlers who could combat with one thousand persons at a time (*sahassamalla*) [179] Then cock and peacock fights were other popular pastimes in ancient India Hundreds and thousands were staked and a huge number of people assembled to watch such fights.[180] Reference has been made to a peacock fight that was held in Campā The peacock brought hundreds and thousands to its owner Combats of buffaloes, bulls, horses and elephants are referred to [181]

173 *Bih su* 1 47 and the *Bhāsya* (1 3139-3206) also *Ācā* II, 1 2, 3 236 ff , *Das* 7 36f

174 *Jīva* 3, p 280a , cf *Kusa Jataka* (No 531 translation), p 145 fn , [illegible] is called [illegible] marriage as opposite to *vivaha*, a daughter's marriage in the 9th edict of [illegible]

175 *Vya cū* 8 p 502 *Āca* II 1 3 245 According to the *Jain* tradition king [illegible] first promulgated this feast, *Āva cu II*, p 172

176 *Nāyā* 16, p 174 cf the lalivā gotthī of Rayagiha (*Anta* 6, p 32)

177 *Nāyā* 2 p 48 178 *Uttara* 4, p 78 ff

179 *Jīva Bhā* 1, p 92af A wrestling match is described in the *Ghata Jātaka* (No [illegible]) pp 81f in which the wrestlers Cānūra and Mutthika took part , also cf [illegible] Poona, 1936 XXVIII p 218 ff for a beautiful description of wrestling , also [illegible] IV, 15

180 *Uttarā Tī* 13, p. 191

181 *Ācā* II, 11 p 332, cf *Digh*. I, p 6 , also *Yāj* [illegible] (17, p 255)

Then we come across various people who earned their bread by exhibiting various performances There were acrobats, dancers, rope-walkers, etc. already mentioned above We hear of pole-dancer's tricks. At the top of the pole there was a horizontal wooden attachment on which were nails which attached themselves to the shoes When the acrobat holding the sword and shield started walking, the nails attached themselves to the already prepared sockets in the shoes. Very carefully at every step he engaged and disengaged the nails, because a slight carelessness meant death. Even the kings in the company of their queens attended such performances.[182]

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES

Dead bodies were cremated and shrines and *stūpas* (*thūbha lena*) were built over the ground in the Jain and the Buddhist age The body was cremated with sandal wood, *aguru*, *turukka*, *ghee* and honey and after the flesh and the blood was consumed by fire, the bones were taken and the *stūpas* (*ceiyathūbha*)[183] were erected Paying homage to the dead (*maḍagapūyana*) and mourning (*runnasadda*) are mentioned [184]

Jain texts refer to another custom when the dead bodies were not duly disposed of, but were left uncared for at the mercy of wild beasts and birds.[185] Besides, sometimes according to the instructions of the king, the ascetics had to leave a dead body in a hollow (*agada*), lake or a flowing river or by the side of these places.[186] Mention has been made of *giddha-piṭṭhaka*, a kind of death in which a person threw himself among the corpses of human beings, elephants, camels, donkeys, etc , and allowed his body to be devoured by vultures. The bodies of criminals and the indigent were also thrown away to rot when vultures and jackals fed on them.[187] There are also references to the burial of corpses. This custom was in vogue among the *mlecchas*, who did not cremate the dead bodies but burried them at the burial ground (*maḍagagiha* : *maḍagalena*). Such burial houses existed in the country of Dīva and Jona [188]

The *Chedasūtras* have laid down elaborate rules for disposing of the dead body of the Jain *sādhus*.[189] It is stated that after the death of a monk, one monk should go in search of a bier to carry the corpse and should inspect the cremation ground (*thandila*) where the proper direction should be chosen for the disposal of the dead. The corpse should be covered with a clean white cloth, and as far as possible be taken out during day or night as the case may be after the monk dies. The corpse should

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182 *Āva. cū* p 484 f , cf *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* Vol IV, pp 59 ff

183 The *Tittira Jātaka* (No 438), III, p. 537 mentions topes of sand (*vālukāthūpa*) , also *Paramatthadīpanī*, the com on the *Udana*, p. 97, cf. the funeral ceremonies in the *Rāmāyana* (IV, 25, 16 ff)

184 *Āva. Bhā*. 26, 27, Hari. Ti p 133, *Āva. cū* 167 , 222 f.

185 *Mahā. Nī*. p. 25 ; cf. *Lalitavistara*, p. 265.

186 *Bṛh Bhā*. 3. 4824.

187 See Supra, p. 174

188 *Nisī. cū*. 3, p. 330 , *Āca cu* 370

189 See Viṣvagbhavanaprakrtam *Bṛh* sū. 4, 29 and its *Bhāṣya* 5497-5565.

be carried by monks, or by laymen in a cart, or with the help of the Mallas or by the *Cāṇḍālas*.[190] Then after being carried to the cremation ground, with the permission of the keeper of the cemetery, the corpse should be disposed of duly.[191]

The ceremony of taking out the body of the dead (*nīharaṇa*) including the child was performed with great pomp (*iḍḍhisakkāra*) and many funeral rites (*mayakacca*) were performed on the occasion. Annual or monthly feasts were given in honour of the departed.[192] Mention has been made of offering the *piṇḍa* to the fathers. We are told that on the anniversary day the Brāhmaṇas were invited for feast.[193]

Among the various causes of death the following are mentioned: swallowing the *tālapuṭa* poison, brandishing the sword on one's shoulders, hanging on a tree, fastening one's neck with a slab of stone and throwing oneself into the sea, and entering into fire.[194] Among other kinds of suicides mention is made of falling down from a mountain[195] (*giripaḍiyaga*), falling down from a tree, committing suicide in a desert, swinging from a mountain (*giripakkhandolaya*), jumping into a desert, entering into water (*jalapavesika*), swallowing poison,[196] committing suicide with a weapon (*satthovāḍitaka*) or by hanging (*vehāṇasīa*). Then *sallekhanā* or voluntary submission to death was another custom in vogue among the Jain monks who ended their life for attaining higher world by withholding from food and drink.[197]

190 *Vya. Bhā*. 7. 449-462, p, 79 f. *Manu* (X. 55) also asks the Cāndālas to carry out the corpses of persons who have no relatives.

191 *Vya. Bhā* 7 442-448 p. 76ff; also *Āva Nir. Dīpikā*, Vol. II, 95 ff; *Āva cū*. II, pp. 102-9, *Bhagvatī Ārādh*. 1974-2000. For the disposal of the dead see also Law, *India Described* p. 193.

192 *Nisī. cū*. 11, p. 709; *Nāyā*. 14, p. 151; cf. *Matakabhatta Jātaka*, No. 18, (I. p. 166), *Mahābhārata*, I, 134; 136; *Rāmayaṇa*, VI. 114. 101 ff.

193 *Uttarā*. 13, p. 194a.

194 *Nāyā*. 14, p. 156. Cānakya is said to have put an end to his life by entering into fire (see supra).

195 Udayana of Kosambī is said to have departed from this world along with his queen by ascending the top of a hill and falling from the precipice, Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India* p. 246; also cf. *Cullapaduma Jātaka* (193) II, p. 118.

196 For various kinds of poisons etc. see *Ṭhā*. 4·341, 6. 533, see also *Bṛh. Bhā* 3. 4208; *Piṇḍa* 274 com.; *Paṇṇa*. 1, p. 45a; *Jīvā*. 1, p. 36a; cf. *Arthasāstra* (p. 108).

197 See *Anta*. 8, etc.

SECTION V

GEOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL IN THE JAIN CANONS

GENERAL OUTLOOK

CHAPTER I JAIN CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD

CHAPTER II THE JAIN ARYAN COUNTRIES

CHAPTER III MAHĀVĪRA'S ITINERARY

CHAPTER IV GEOGRAPHICAL LEXICON

The Jain point of view of geography is governed by two conditions, mythological and scientific. The first category belongs to the fantastic geography of Jambudvīpa which is divided into seven zones bounded by six mountain-ranges from which flow the fourteen great rivers. But it cannot be said even this section is entirely devoid of geographical knowledge as in between the fiction we catch glimpses of certain geographical knowledge which could be checked up. For instance, in the plethora of the rivers which the Jain mythological geography speaks of as flowing from the mountains Himavan, Mahāhimavan, Nisadha, etc., there are some which could be correctly identified, one such river being Sītā described as flowing from the mountain Nīla, and according to the fanciful notion of the Jains is supposed to flow to the eastern ocean. The fact, however, is that this Sītā or Si-to as it is known by the Chinese is apparently the same, though apparently Sītā never meets any sea but disappears in the sands of Kashgar. While speaking of the primitive notion of the geographical factors, such as the constitution of earth, mountains, oceans, the great islands, rivers, etc., the Jains were not the only sinners, even the Purāṇas and the Buddhist sources, more than often indulge in ludicrous speculations such as those of the Jains.

It seems that all these sources derived their information from some very remote origins which have not yet been traced. It seems that these fantastic geographical explanations were the direct outcome of man's claim to explain all and sundry though unfortunately his knowledge had not as yet developed to such an extent as to make his statements and explanations accurate from the scientific point of view.

The absurd measurements of the sea, mountains and rivers in the Jain canons readily support our view. Apparently there was a wish of the early geographers to give the measurements at least of the rivers which they saw very often but as yet there was no means to determine their extent nor had the people yet penetrated to the sources of the majority of them. The result was that fanciful stories were told for explanation's sake and their extent was stretched beyond all expectations to thousands and thousands of *yojanas*.

These primitive geographers retained certain true observations in their geographical descriptions so far as they confined themselves to the visible objects but as soon the question of the unknown came, their imagination indulged in fanciful flights.

But this primitive geography did not last for a very long time and though it became *sāstra* and thus became a sort of conventional geography of the Jains for all times, there are evidences from the Jain canon itself that the geographical conception developed with time.

This growth of geographical knowledge may be attributed to various factors, namely, the growth of trade, including both internal and external which afforded an opportunity to the traders and Jain merchants and

seamen to bring the stories of the manners and customs and also certain geographical names of the countries which they visited. There is no doubt while studying this information one has to be very critical as an element of marvel permeates these travellers' tales.

Secondly, we know from the Jain Sūtras that the country in which the Jain monks could preach was confined to Aṅga, Magadha, Kosambī, Thūṇā and Sāvatthī, or roughly speaking that tract of land which includes modern Bihar, eastern U. P., and a portion of western U. P., and therefore, it is natural that the geographical knowledge of the early Jain scriptures should be confined entirely to that area. Thus in the *Bhagavatī*, the *Āvaśyaka cūrṇi* and other scriptures we are told the names of number of towns, townlets, villages etc., mostly belonging to Aṅga-Magadha of which unfortunately there are no traces. It is, however, related in the Jain scriptures, and the tradition is very ancient and genuine, that in the time of Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, who was a devout Jain, other parts of the country including Mahārāstra, Āndhra, Saurāstra and Coorg (Kuḍukka) etc. were opened to the Jain monks for preaching and proselytizing. This fact alone increased the geographical knowledge of the Jains substantially.

The monks themselves realised the importance of seeing and studying the various factors in the countries which they visited. Thus in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāsya*, which may perhaps be dated to the early century of the Christian era, elaborate instructions are given to the monks who toured from year to year the various parts of the country. It is mentioned that by seeing the country the monks purify their souls and gain equanimity of mind. These regular tours taught them many languages and afforded them opportunities to examine the various republics which they visited at length. This knowledge they brought back home and utilised it instructing their pupils and followers (1·1226). Among the various requisites of a monk it was expected of him that he should be accomplished in various regional languages (*ibid.*, 1230). In the course of their *Janapada* tours the attention of the monks was also engaged by such worldly factors as the various means of irrigation, the products of the various parts of the country, various trade centres and the local habits of the populace (*ibid.* 1239).

Now it must be evident that there was a definite feeling in the Jain church in the early century of the Christian era to know thoroughly the parts of the countries which were under the sphere of the Jain influence This growth of geographical knowledge may be further seen in the *Cūrṇis* and even the *Ṭīkās* where an effort to record truly and scientifically the ethnological and geographical facts is observed.

To sum up, we have tried to collect together this motley information of the Jain scriptures at one place so that students of ancient Indian geography may not have to grope into the thick and often badly edited Jain texts. In collecting, however, this information the difficulties have been to identify most of the obscure place-names visited by Mahāvīra and

his disciples and other Jain saints, kings, traders, etc as they have disappeared without leaving any trace. However, it is possible if a detailed tour of the area covered by Mahāvira's *cārikā* is made, that by the bits of information supplied by the Jain texts, one may be able to throw further light on their identifications For the present, however, whatever information was available about these place-names from the Jain canons, have been recorded.

At several places in common with the Purānas there are lists of the Non-Āryan countries ; Non-Āryan in this sense must be understood by those who had not come under the sphere of Jain influence. These lists are very important, though unfortunately the text is become so corrupt that nothing can be made out of majority of the geographical place-names in the names of the tribes which they hide under their corrupt texts. It would be really a great boon to indologists if some Jain scholar were to take up the scientific edition of these lists. For the present, however, one has to be content with whatever is at our disposal.

CHAPTER I

JAIN CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD

According to the Jain conception, the world consists of innumerable spheres, continents and oceans each one surrounding the preceding one like a sheath.

There are seven *kṣetras* or zones in Jambudvīpa which is the first continent, and may correspond to Asia (India, according to Buddhists) They are Bharaha, Hemavaya,[1] Hari,[2] Videha, Rammaga, Heraṇṇavaya and Erāvaya[3]. Bounding these zones are six mountain-ranges, *viz.*, Himavata, Mahāhimavata, Niṣadha,[4] Nīla, Rukmin and Śikharin [5] In the centre of Jambudvīpa is located Meru.[6]

Bharaha is $526\frac{6}{19}$ *yojanas* in extent. It is situated to the south of Culla Himavanta and between the eastern and western seas. By the two large rivers Gaṅgā and Sindhu, and the Vaitāḍhya mountain-range it is divided into six portions.[7] Videha, also known as Mahāvideha, is divided into four parts, *viz.*, Puvvavideha (eastern Videha), Avaravideha (western Videha), Devakuru and Uttarakuru.[8]

Puvvavideha,[9] which is also called Bhadrāśva in the *Brahmānda Purāna*, is said to be watered by the Sītā, the mythical prototype of the Yarkand and Yellow rivers, already referred to Sītā is the same as one of the fourteen great rivers in the Jain mythology referred to in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[10]. Puvvavideha and Avaravideha are divided into different Vijayas[11] or provinces which have their respective cities

On the above mentioned mountain-ranges there are six lakes, *viz.*, Padma, Mahāpadma, Tigiñchi, Kesari, Mahāpuṇḍarīka and Puṇḍarīka

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1 Haimavata and Hairanyavata are identified with regions in Tibet known for gold. Schubring, *Die Lehre Der Jainas*, p. 144

2 Harivarṣa included the western portion of Tibet (*G. D*, *p.* 74).

3 Also cf. *Mahābhā* VI. 6 7 ff.

4 It is identified with "Paropanisad" of the Greeks, now called the Hindukush (p 141)

5 Also cf. *Mahābhā*. VI. 6 4 f.

6 The Buddhists call it Sineru, Meru, Sumeru, Hemameru and Mahāmeru It is the highest conceivable mountain according to them. The Purānas also speak of Sumeru mountain having the altitude of one hundred thousand *yojanas*, (Law, *India described*, p. 2 ff).

7 *Jambu*. 1-10.

8 It is identified with the northern portion of Garwal and Hūṇa deśa (*G. D.*, p. 213)

9 It is identified with Eastern Turkistan and North China (Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp 75-6).

10 11·28. Also mentioned in the *Mahābhā*. Śānti p 82·45.

11 Some of these Vijayas such as Cakkavaṭṭivijaya (*Āva Cū.*, p. 133), Ramanijja (*Uttara Ṭī*, 18, p 243 a), Gandhilāvatī (*Āva. Cū*, p 165), Salilāvaī (*Nāyā* 8, p 90), Sugandhi (*Uttarā. Ṭī*, 23, p. 286 a), Sukaccha (*ibid*), Pokkhalāvaī (*Nāyā* 14, p. 157) Mangalāvati (*Āva. Nir.*, 175) find mention in the Jain texts.

rom which flow the great fourteen rivers The first two rivers, *viz*, Gangā and Sindhu flow from the lake Padma situated on the Himavata mountain.[12]

In the centre of Bharaha is Mount Vaitādhya, dividing it into north and south On this mountain there are kingdoms of the *Vidyādhara* kings The first ocean surrounding Jambudvīpa is Lavanoda or the Indian ocean.[13] Then comes the continent of Dhātakīkhanda which surrounds the Lavanoda and is twice in extent Then we have the Kāloda ocean and then Puskaradvīpa [14] In the middle of Puskaradvīpa is situated the mountain-range Mānusottara like a city wall which is the *ultima thule* of the Human World Thus according to the Jain conception, the Human World consists of two and a half continents, *viz*, Jambudvīpa, Dhātakīkhanda and half of Puskaradvīpa

Surrounding Puskara we have various other oceans and continents, which are each twice as large as the preceding one The eighth continent is Nandīsaradīva which is described as a land of the gods with beautiful gardens. It is mentioned that there were fifty two statues of the *Arhats* here which were frequently visited by gods[15]. The last continent is Svayambhuramana.[16]

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is mountain is the same as the Himalaya mountain and is known in Pali as Himava, Himācala and Himavanta It is one of the seven mountain-ranges that surround Gandhamādana Seven great Himalayan lakes are also mentioned in Pali literature, Anottata being the first Anottata, like the Padma lake of the Jains, is a lotus lake with four outlets on its four sides and is identified with Bindusāra in the *Mahābhārata* and Mānasa sarovara of popular fame (Law, *op cit*, pp 5, 10, 12)

the Jain texts mention the merchants of Campā and Hatthisīsa crossing the Lavana ocean and going out for trades, it seems that Lavana was no other ocean than the Indian ocean (cf *Nāyā* 8 p 97 9 p 121, 17 p 201) Lavana ocean is mentioned in the *Mahābhā* VI 5 15, VI .1 6

ne identify it with a portion of Central Asia commencing from the north of Oxus, including Western Tartary, (*G D*, p 163)

Cū p 397 f, *Uttarā Ṭī* 9 p 138

Jambu. 1, 4, Also *I S P*, Vo II, 3 552 to 749, also 'some cosmological Ideas of the Jainas', Amulayachandra Sen, *I. H Q* 1932, pp 43-48.

CHAPTER II

THE JAIN ĀRYAN COUNTRIES

It is stated that when Mahāvīra sojourned in the garden of Subhūmibhāga in Sāketa, he declared the following Sūtra restricting the movements of the Jain monks :

"The monks or nuns may wander towards the east as far as Anga-Magadha, towards the south as far as Kosambī, towards the west as far as Thūnā and towards the north as far as Kunālā."[17]

Later on, king Sampai, who was a great patron of Jain religion, made other countries suitable for the movements of the Jain monks, and consequently the following twenty five and a half countries were declared as Āryan :—

	Kingdom	Capital
1.	Magadha	Rāyagiha
2	Anga	Campā
3.	Vanga	Tāmalitti
4.	Kalinga	Kañcanapura
5	Kāsī	Vānārasī
6	Kosala	Sāketa
7	Kuru	Gayapura
8	Kusattā	Soriya
9.	Pañcāla	Kampillapura
10	Jangala	Ahicchattā
11.	Suratthā	Bāravai
12.	Videha	Mihilā
13.	Vaccha	Kosambī
14	Sandilla	Nandipura
15.	Malaya	Bhaddilapura
16.	Vaccha	Verāda
17.	Varanā	Acchā
18	Dasanna	Mattiyāvai
19.	Cedi	Suttivai
20	Sindhu Sovīra	Vībhaya
21.	Sūrasena	Mahurā
22.	Bhangi	Pāvā
23.	Purivattā	Māsapurī
24.	Kunālā	Sāvatthi
25.	Lāda (or Lādha)	Kodivarisa
25½	Kegaiaddha	Seyaviyā[18]

These countries were called Āryan because, it is said that the *Titthayaras*, the *Gakkavattis*, the *Baladevas* and the *Vāsudevas* were born here.

[17] *Brh Sū* 1 50, Also *Nisi Bhā* 16. p 1111
[18] *Panna* 1. 37, p. 55a, *Brh Bhā* Vr 1. 3263, also *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, p 446.

These great men are said to have attained omniscience in these countries and by attending to their preachings a number of people were enlightened and had taken to ascetic life.[19]

1 MAGADHA (RĀYAGIHA)[20]

Magadha, which occupied the district now called Bihar, is a very old kingdom and was counted among the sixteen *Janapadas* in the *Bhagavatī*,[21] the rest being Anga, Vanga, Malaya, Mālavaya, Accha, Vaccha, Koccha, Pāḍha, Lāḍha, Vajji, Moli, Kāsī, Kosala, Avāha (?) and Sambhuttara (Suhmottara). It was a great centre of activities of Mahāvīra and in fact it was after the name of this country that the language in which Mahāvīra is said to have preached his religion was called Ardhamāgadhī Magadha was a holy place for Jains although the Brāhmanas were not allowed to enter this country, except on a pilgrimage A Jain pilgrim has aptly remarked that according to the Brāhmanas, if a crow died in Kāsī, it would attain salvation, but if a human being died in Magadha he would be born as a donkey.[22]

Rāyagiha, or the modern Rajgir, was counted among the ten capital cities of India, others being Campā, Mahurā, Vārānasī, Sāvatthi, Sākeya Kampilla, Kosambī, Mihilā and Hatthināura [23] Rāyagiha was noted for its springs known as Mahātavovatīrappabha King Seniya was the ruler of Rāyagiha

Vaibhāra and Vipula were well-known hills near Rāyagiha where a number of Jain ascetics are said to have attained salvation The famous Nālandā was a suburb of Rāyagiha Rāyagiha was a centre of trade and the habitat of wealthy people

Rāyagiha was also known as Giribbaja The fortifications of both Giribbaja and Rāyagiha are still extant, four and a half and three miles in circumference The stone walls of Giribbaja are the oldest extant stone buildings in India [24]

2 ANGA (CAMPĀ)

The Anga dominions which are identical with the country about the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr included at one time Magadha It is included among the sixteen *Janapadas*

Campā, which was situated near modern Bhagalpur, was considered among the ten capitals It was a beautiful and prosperous city in ancient India, a detailed description of which is given in the *Ovāiya*.[25]

19 *Bṛh Bhā* Vṛ 1 3263 ff
20 For all reference of this Section see Chapter IV.
21 15
22 *Prācīnatīrthamālā Sangraha* Pt I, p 4.
23 *Thā* 10 718, *Nisī Sū* 9 19
24 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p 38.
25 Sū. 1.

Like Rāyagiha, Campā too was frequently visited by Mahāvīra and his disciples. It is said that when Seniya died, Kūṇiya shifted his capital from Rāyagiha to Campā. It was in Campā that the seventh and the eighth Angas of the Jain canon were explained to Jambu by his teacher Ajja Suhamma. Dadhivāhana was another powerful sovereign of Campā whose daughter Candanā became the first female disciple of Mahāvīra. Like Sammeya, Campā also was considered a holy place by Jains. Campā was a big centre of trade and merchants travelled from here as far as Mihilā, Ahicchattā, Pihuṇḍa and other places with their merchandise.

3 VANGA (TĀMALITTI)

Vaṅga (eastern Bengal) is mentioned as one of the sixteen *Janapadas*. Vanga was a centre of trade reached by the sea.

Tāmalitti (Tamluk) was a centre of trade and commerce and a great sea-port town. It could be reached both by land and water. Tāmalitti was noted for its fine cloth. Tāmali Moriyaputta is mentioned as a well-known layman of the city. Tāmalittiyā is stated to be a *sāhā* of the Jain *sramaṇas*.

4 KALINGA (KAÑCANAPURA)

Karakandu is mentioned as the sovereign of Kalinga (Orissa). Kañcanapura was a centre of commerce and a free trade is mentioned between Lankā and this town.

5 KĀSĪ (VĀRĀNASĪ)

Kāsī was included among the sixteen *Janapadas*; Kāsī and Kosala were known for their eighteen confederate kings (*ganarājā*), who fought against Kūniya on the side of Cedaga. Kāsī was noted for its centre of trade.

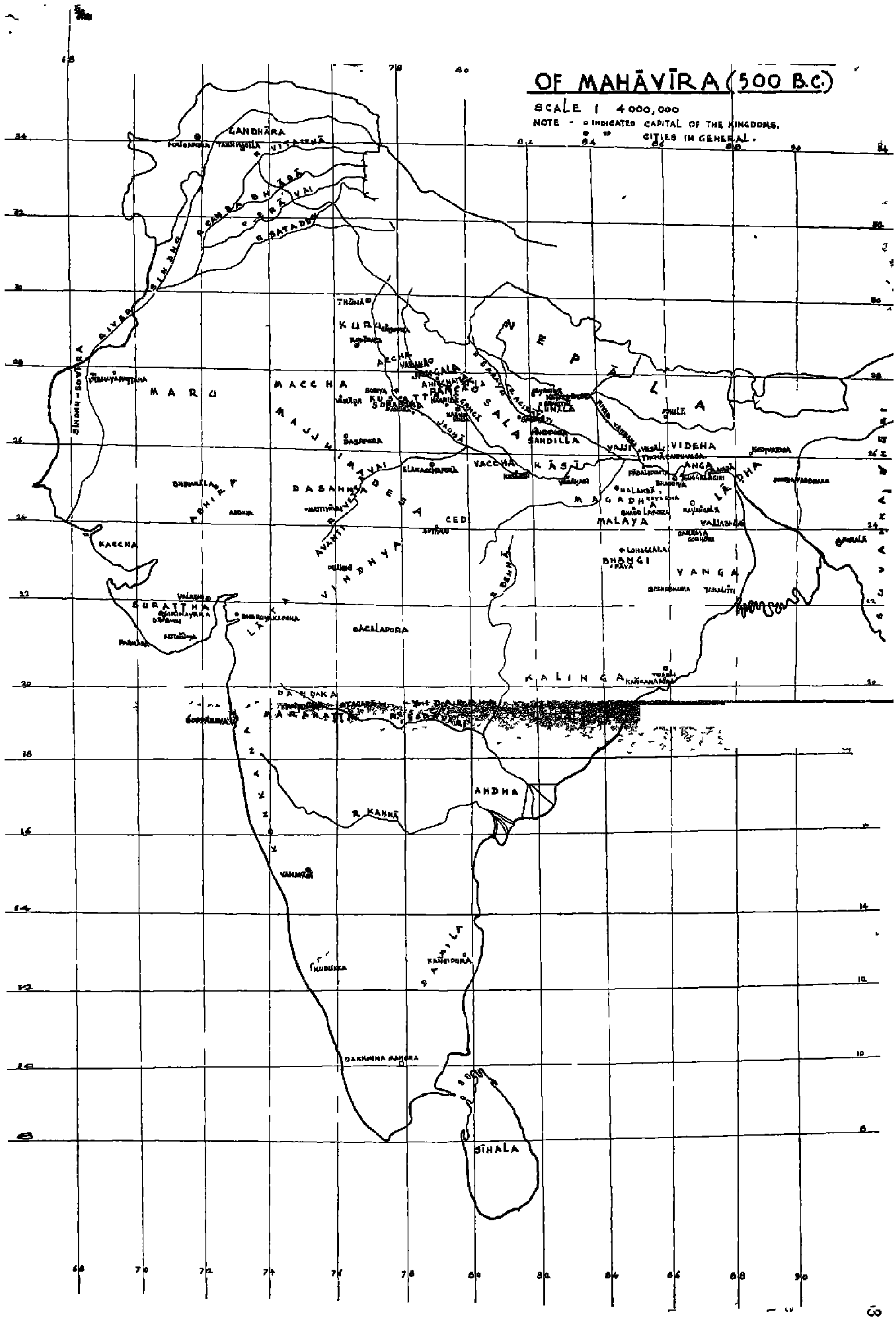
Vārānasī (Benares) was counted among the ten capitals. It was the birthplace of Pāsa and was visited by Mahāvīra.

At the time of Hemacandra Kāsī or Vārānasī are stated to be identical.

6 KOSALA (SĀGEYA)

Kosala (Oudh) was included among the sixteen *Janapadas*. It was the birthplace of Ayala, the eighth disciple of Mahāvīra. As Mahāvīra was called Vesāliya, so Usabha was known as Kosaliya, i e , one who is born in Kosala. Like Dasapura and Ujjeni, Kosala was known for its image of the Living Lord (*Jīvantasāmipadimā*).

Sāgeya is identified with modern Ayodhyā near Fyzabad and was included among the ten capital cities of Jain India. Sāgeya was visited by Pāsa and Mahāvīra.



OF MAHĀVĪRA (500 B.C.)
SCALE 1 4,000,000
NOTE - ○ INDICATES CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOMS.
CITIES IN GENERAL.
GANDHĀRA
R. VITASTHĀ
R. CANDRABHĀGĀ
R. ERĀVATĪ
R. SATADRU
SINDHU
SINDHU RIVER
SINDHU-SOVĪRA
MARU
MACCHA
KURU
THŪNĀ
N E P Ā L A
KOSALA
KUNĀLA
SANDILLA
VIDEHA
VAJJĪ
VESĀLĪ
KĀSĪ
VACCHA
MAGADHA
ANGA
LĀDHA
MALAYA
BHANGI
VANGA
PĀVĀ
DASANNA
CEDI
AVANTI
VINDHYA
LĀTA
SURATTHA
KACCHA
ABHĪRA
KALINGA
DANDAKA
MAHĀRĀSHTRA
R. GODĀVARĪ
ANDHA
R. KANHĀ
VANAVĀSĪ
DAMILA
KANCIPURA
DAKKHINA MAHURA
SĪHALA
BHARUKACCHA
ELAKACCHAPURA
DASAPURA

7 KURU (GAYAPURA)

Kuru is identified with Kurukṣetra or Thaneshwar

Gayapura or Hatthināpura (Hastināpur) was included among the ten capital cities of Jain India Hatthināpura was visited by Mahāvīra and Pāsa.

8 KUSATTA (SORIYA)

Kusārta was situated in north of Sūrasena (Mathurā)

Soriyapura which is identified with Batesar near Sakurabad station in Agra district, was situated on the bank of the Jumna Soriyapura was the birthplace of Kanha Vāsudeva and Aritthanemi Soriyapura was frequented by Mahāvīra

9 PAÑCĀLA KAMPILLAPURA

Pañcāla is identified with Rohilkhand

Kampillapura, which is identified with modern Kampil in Farrukhabad district, was situated on the bank of the Ganges It was included among the ten capital cities of Jain India It is mentioned that Kampillapura was visited by Pāsa and Mahāvīra

10 JANGALA (AHICCHATTĀ)

Jangala comprised the tract between the Ganges and north Pañcāla

Ahicchattā, which is identified with modern Ramnagar in Bareilly district, was situated to the north-west of Campā There was regular trade between the two cities Ahicchattā was considered a holy place and was enumerated with Atthāvaya, Ujjinta, Gayaggapura Dhammacakka and Rahāvatta mountain It is said that Ahicchattā was visited by Pārsva.

11 SURATTHA (BARAVAI)

It is mentioned that Suraṭṭha (Kathiawar) was a non-Āryan country, but from the time of king Sampati it was declared suitable for the preachings of the Jain monks It is said that Kālaka ācārya had brought here ninety six kings from Persia, and consequently this country was divided into six *mandalas* Suraṭṭha was a centre of trade and commerce and a number of merchants used to visit this country

Bāravai (Dwāravatī) is described as a beautiful and prosperous city. To the north-west to the city was situated the mountain Revaya (Girnar), which is described as dear to the Dasāra kings where Aritthanemi is said to have attained salvation It is said that Aritthanemi ordained a number of persons here including Paumavati the queen of Kanha and the sons of Kanha and Baladeva It is mentioned that, as predicted

by Aritthanemi, Bāravai was destroyed due to excessive drinking and by fire. Bāravai was a sea-port and being a centre of trade, was visited by various merchants and tradesmen.

12 VIDEHA (MIHILĀ)

Lord Mahāvīra was born in Videha which is identified with modern Tirhut.

Mihilā, which is identified with Janakpur within the border of Nepal, was included among the ten capital cities of Jain India. It is mentioned that this town was visited by Mahāvīra and Ajja Mahāgiri.

13 VACCHA (KOSAMBĪ)

Vaccha was known as Vaṁsa or Vatsa in the Buddhist literature; it was the region near Prayag.

Kosambī, which is identified with Kosam in Allahabad district, was included among the ten capitals of Jain India It was situated on the bank of the river Jumna It is said that Kosambī was visited by Pāsa, Mahāvīra, Ajja Suhatthi and Ajja Mahāgiri.

King Sayānīya was a well-known ruler of Kosambī. After he died, Udayana ascended the throne and governed the kingdom.

14 SAṆDIBBHA OR SĀṆDILYA (NANDIPURA)

Sāṇḍilya may be identified with Sandilla, a town in Oudh.

Nandipura may be identified with Nundgaon in Oudh

15 MALAYA (BHADDILAPURA)

Malaya, which was located in south of Magadha, was counted among the sixteen *Janapadas*.

Bhaddilapura, which is identified with the Kuluhā hill in the Hazaribagh district, was the birthplace of the tenth *Titthayara* and was visited by Mahāvīra, who is said to have passed fifth rainy season here.

16 VACCHA OR MATSYA (VAIRĀDA).

Matsya is identified with modern Alwar and Jaipur territories

Vairāda is identified with the region forty one miles to the north of Jaipur.

17 VARAṆĀ OR VARUṆĀ (ACCHĀ)

Varanā was known by the name of Uccānagara which is identified with Bulandshahar in the United Provinces Uccānagarī is mentioned as a *sāhā* of the Jain *sramaṇas*.

Acchā is included among the sixteen *Janapadas*.

18 DASANṆA (MATTIYĀVAI)

Dasaṇṇa is identified with eastern Malwa. King Dasannabhadda, who was ordained by Mahāvīra, is said to have reigned in this country.

Mattiyāvai is identified with the country of the Bhojas by the side of Parṇāsa (Banas).

19 CEDI (SUTTIMAI)

King Sisupāla was known as the lord of Cedi which is modern Bundelkhand.

Suttimai was located near Banda in the Central Provinces.

20 SINDHU SOVĪRA (VIIBHAYAPAṬṬANA)

According to Abhayadeva, the country of Sovīra or modern Sindh was situated near the river Sindhu and hence it was known Sindhu-Sovīra.

Viibhaya may be identified with Bhera in the Punjab

21 SŪRASENA (MAHURĀ)

Mahurā was the capital of Sūrasena which is identified with the region round Mathurā Mathurā was one of the most ancient places and was included among the ten capitals of Jain India Mathurā was a great centre of the Jains It is said that ninety six villages were attached to it, where people installed the images of *Arhat* in their houses and the courtyards. There was a jewelled *thūpa* in Mathurā over which a quarrel is recorded to have arisen between Jains and Buddhists In later literature of the Jains, however, five *stūpas* are referred to in Mathurā.

Mathurā is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra, Ajja Mangu and Ajja Rakkhiya Mathurā was a centre of heretical ascetics and was known for the pilgrimage to the temple of Bhandīra Jakkha [26] Mathurā was a centre of trade People lived here on trade and not on agriculture The goods were carried here by land There was a free trade between Mahurā, also known as Uttara Mahurā, and Dakkhina Mahurā or Pandu Mahurā.

22 BHAṄGI (PĀPĀ)

Bhaṅga or Bhangi included the districts of Hazaribagh and Manbhum.

Mahāvīra is said to have attained salvation at Pāpā It is said that the real name of this place was Apāvā and after the death of Mahāvīra it came to be called Pāvā But this is different from above

[26] The *Vividhatīrtha Kalpa* (P 18) mentions the following gardens (*vana*) in Mathurā Lohajangha, Mahu, Billa, Tāla, Kumua, Vinlā, Bhandīra, Khaira, Kāma, Kola,

23 PURIVAṬṬĀ (MĀSAPURĪ)

Māsapurī was the capital of Purivaṭṭā. Māsapurī is mentioned as a *sāhā* of the Jain *śramanas*.

This country is not identified.

24 KUṆĀLĀ (SĀVATTHI)

It is recorded that the country of Kuṇālā was destroyed by flood[27] and after thirteen years of this incident Mahāvīra attained *kevala*hood

Sāvatthī was included among the ten capitals of Jain India, and was visited by Pāsa and his chief disciple Kesīkumāra A historical meeting is said to have taken place here between Kesī and Goyama, the two representatives of Pāsa and Mahāvīra respectively. Sāvatthī was visited by Mahāvīra frequently

Sāvatthī was six leagues north of Sāketa and was situated on the bank of Acirāvatī.[28]

25 LĀDHA (KODIVARISA)

Lādha or Rādha, which comprised the modern District of Hoogly, Howrah, Bankura, Burdwan and the east portion of Midnapur, was included among the sixteen *Janapadas* This country was divided into Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi It is said that there were very few villages in this country and its inhabitants were generally hostile to the ascetics. Mahāvīra travelled in this country and had to undergo much suffering

It is said that Cilāya, a Mleccha king, was reigning in Kodivarisa who joined the order under Mahāvīra in Sāketa. Kodivarisa is identified with modern Dinajpur.

25½ KEYAIADDHA (SEYAVIYĀ)

Most probably Jainism did not penetrate the whole of this country and perhaps a few people came under the sphere of Jain influence and so half of this country is included among Āryan countries Kekaya was situated at the base of Nepala in the north-east of Sāvatthī and should be considered different from Kekaya of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the north

Seyaviyā was visited by Mahāvīra, who having crossed the Ganges proceeded to Surabhipura from here. Seyaviyā is identified with Setavya of the Buddhists.

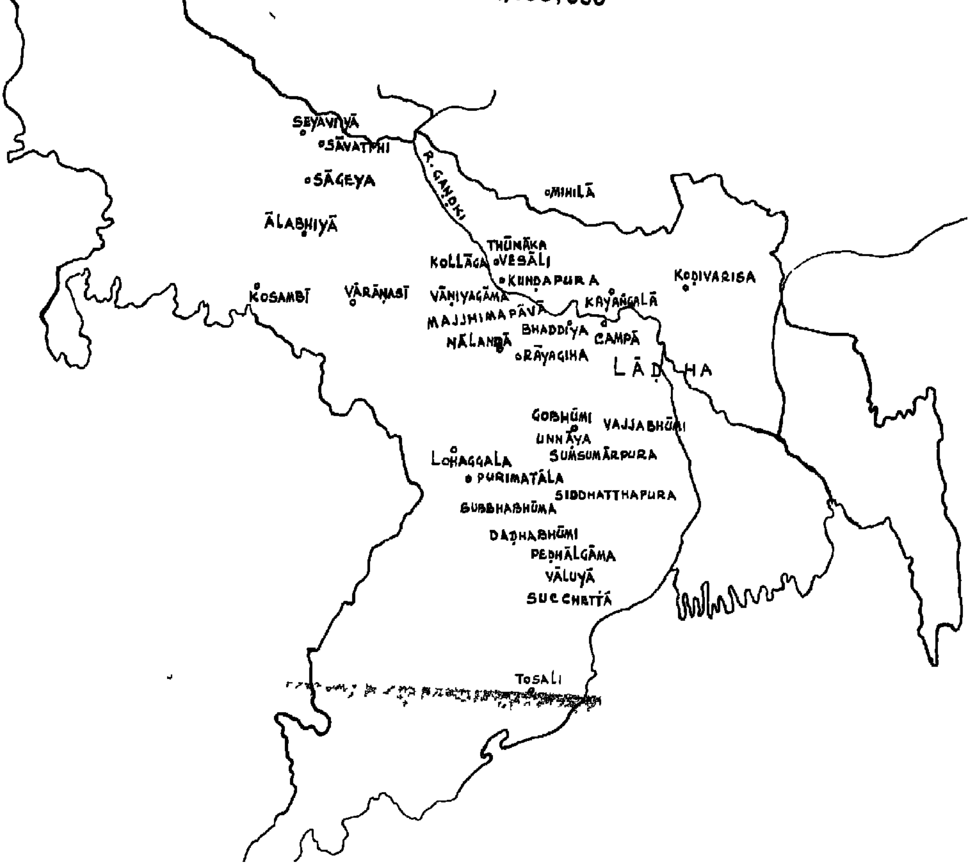
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[27] Cf. the Pali legends record that Anāthapiṇḍika, the famous donor of the Jetavana monastery in Śrāvastī lost eighteen crores by the action of river Acirāvatī, *Dhammapada A.* III, p 10, also Vol. I, p. 360.

[28] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p 40.

MAHAVIRA (500 B.C.)

SCALE : 1 : 4,000,000



CHAPTER III

MAHĀVĪRA'S ITINERARY

Mahāvīra was thirty years old when with the permission of his elder brother Nandivardhana and other relatives, he renounced the world and with a divine garment (*devadūṣya*) left Kundaggāma in the dark of *mārgaśīrṣa* on the tenth day in winter. Followed by thousands of people, Mahāvīra reached the garden of Nāyasandavana, which lay in the outskirts of Kundaggāma, to the north-east direction where the renunciation ceremony was performed with great pomp.

FIRST YEAR

The same day in the evening Mahāvīra left Nāyasanda and set out for Kummāragāma. There were two routes leading to Kummāra, one by water and another by land. Mahāvīra preferred the latter and having reached there, stood in meditation. Mahāvīra was caused trouble here by a cowherd who took him to be a thief and wanted to hit him. Next day Mahāvīra proceeded to Kollāka Sannivesa where he broke his fast. From there he proceeded to Morāga Sannivesa and sojourned in a hermitage. Next day Mahāvīra left Morāga Sannivesa and after a period of eight months returned to the same place again. He put up here in a hut, but he had to leave this place very soon. Then Mahāvīra proceeded to Atthiyagāma and sojourned in the shrine of Sūlapāni. Here Sūlapāni Jakkha is said to have caused manifold trouble to Mahāvīra which he endured patiently and passed first rainy season in Atthiyagāma.

SECOND YEAR

From Atthiyagāma Mahāvīra set out for Morāga Sannivesa again where lived an ascetic named Acchandaka. Then Mahāvīra proceeded to Vācāla, which was divided into Uttaravācāla and Dakkhinavācāla, and between them flowed the rivers Suvannakūlā and Ruppakūlā. Mahāvīra was going from Dakkhinavācāla to Uttaravācāla when the remaining half[1] of his garment was caught in the thorns on the bank of Suvannakūlā, and from this time it is said that the Teacher went about naked. Now there were two routes to Uttaravācāla, one passing right through the hermitage named Kanakakhala and another from outside it. The former, which was more difficult, was chosen by Mahāvīra where he was caused much trouble by a poisonous serpent. From here Mahāvīra proceeded to Seyaviyā which lay near the above hermitage and where he was received by king Paesi. Then the Teacher crossed the Ganges and

[1] The first half was already given to a Brāhmana in the garden Nāyasanda before Mahāvīra left for Kummāragāma.

reached Surabhipura and from there proceeded to Thūnāka Sannivesa and stood in meditation there Then Mahāvīra reached Rāyagiha and sojourned in a weaver's shed in Nālandā where he passed second rainy season. Here Gosāla met him and the two of them left for Kollāga

THIRD YEAR

From Kollāga Mahāvīra and Gosāla proceeded to Suvannakhalaya, then to Bambhanagāma and then to Campā where the Teacher passed third rainy season.

FOURTH YEAR

From Campā Mahāvīra and Gosāla reached Kālāya Sannivesa and thence to Pattakālaya It is stated that Gosāla was insulted at these places for his misbehaviour Then both reached Kumārāya Sannivesa, where Mahāvīra stood in meditation in the garden Camparamanijja Then both travelled to Corāga Sannivesa where they were taken to be spies and were made prisoners From here Mahāvīra and Gosāla proceeded to Pitthicampā where the Teacher passed fourth rainy season

FIFTH YEAR

From Pitthicampā Mahāvīra and Gosāla proceeded to Kayangalā Here some ascetics were staying with their families Gosāla is said to have maltreated them and was punished for his misdemeanour Then both reached Sāvatthī and then proceeded to Haledduga. Here there was a big turmeric tree where Mahāvīra stood in meditation and his feet are said to have burnt by fire Then both reached Nangala where Mahāvīra stood in meditation in the Vāsudeva temple. Here again Gosāla was punished for his misdemeanour They then proceeded to Āvattagāma where Mahāvīra stood in meditation in the Baladeva temple Gosāla was taken to task and punished again Then both reached Corāya Sannivesa From there both journeyed to Kalambuka Sannivesa where both were tied by Kālahasti and were beaten ; later on, they were set at liberty by his brother Megha who is said to have seen Mahāvīra in Khattiyakunda Then both proceeded to the country of Lādha where Mahāvīra had to endure various kinds of painful sufferings Then the two of them reached Punnakalasa where some robbers made an attempt on Mahāvīra's life with sword From there both journeyed to the city of Bhaddiya where the Teacher passed fifth rainy season.

SIXTH YEAR

From Bhaddiya Mahāvīra and Gosāla proceeded to Kayalisamāgama, then to Jambusanda and then to Tambāya Sannivesa Then they

reached Kūviya Sannivesa where they were taken as spies and were taken prisoners, later on, both were released by two sisters named Vijayā and Pragalbhā

Now Gosāla refused to move in the company of Mahāvīra and said that since he had to bear insult every now and then, he would like to go his own way. So Mahāvīra left for Vesāli and, having reached there, stood in meditation in a blacksmith's shed It is mentioned that the blacksmith, seeing Mahāvīra naked, ran to hit him Then Mahāvīra travelled towards Gāmāya Sannivesa where he was honoured by Vibhelaka Jakkha From here Mahāvīra proceeded to Sālisīsayagāma, and was caused trouble by the demoness Katapūtanā Here Gosāla joined Mahāvīra again after six months Finally Mahāvīra visited Bhaddiya, and passed sixth rainy season there

SEVENTH YEAR

Then Mahāvīra and Gosāla travelled in the country of Magadha and the Teacher passed seventh rainy season in Ālabhiyā

EIGHTH YEAR

From Ālabhiyā both proceeded to Kundāga Sannivesa where Mahāvīra stood in meditation in the temple of Vāsudeva It is mentioned that Gosāla was beaten here for his misbehaviour Then both set out for Maddaṇagāma and sojourned in the Baladeva temple Then both journeyed to Bahusālagagāma where Mahāvīra was caused trouble by Sālejjā vānamantarī From here both proceeded to the capital Lohaggalā where the royal servants took them to be spies of the enemy and tied them Later on, both were set free by Uppala who is said to have arrived there from Atthiyagāma Afterwards both proceeded to Purimatāla where Mahāvīra stood in meditation in the garden of Sagadamuha From there they proceeded to Unnāga and from there journeyed to Gobhūmi At last both reached Rāyagiha and the Teacher passed eighth rainy season here

NINTH YEAR

From Rāyagiha Mahāvīra and Gosāla proceeded to Lādha, a non-Āryan country and travelled in Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi, where Mahāvīra had to undergo all sorts of tortures Sometimes people surrounded him and set dogs upon him uttering '*cu cu*' Mahāvīra could not get any shelter here ; he passed ninth rainy season in this country [2]

At Pākbira in the Manbhum district, a colossal naked figure of Vira under the name of Bhiram is still worshipped by the people (*Dist Gaz of Manbhum* p 61).

TENTH YEAR

From Lādha Mahāvīra and Gosāla journeyed to Siddhatthapura and from there proceeded to Kummagāma Then both returned to Siddhatthapura Here Gosāla again severed his connection with Mahāvīra and reached Sāvatthī. Mahāvīra left for Vesāli where the republican king Sankha is said to have saved him from the trouble caused by the town-children Then Mahāvīra crossed the river Gandai by boat and reached Vāniyagāma and then proceeded to Sāvatthī where the Teacher passed tenth rainy season.

ELEVENTH YEAR

From Sāvatthī Mahāvīra left for Sānulatthiyagāma and then proceeded to Daḍhabhūmi, a land of the Mlecchas. From here the Lord proceeded to Peḍhālagāma and stood in meditation in the garden of Pedhāla in the shrine of Polāsa. Mahāvīra is said to have suffered extreme pains in this land. From here the Teacher journeyed to Vāluyagāma, Subhoma, Succhettā, Malaya and finally to Hatthisīsa At all these places Mahāvīra had to suffer extreme torture. Then Mahāvīra set out for Tosali where he was taken to be a robber and was hit hard. Then the Teacher journeyed to Mosali, where he was taken to be a robber and was brought to the king's court, but was released From here Mahāvīra returned to Tosali where again he was caused trouble and was actually to be hanged but was luckily rescued by Tosali Ksatriya Then Mahāvīra set out for Siddhatthapura from where he proceeded to Vayaggāma At all these places Mahāvīra is said to have endured pains and tortures for a period of six months From Vayaggāma the venerable ascetic proceeded to Ālabhiyā and then journeyed to Seyaviyā and then proceeded towards Sāvatthī Then the Teacher set out for Kosambī, Vānārasī, Rāvagiha, Mihilā and finally passed eleventh rainy seasons in Vesāli

TWELFTH YEAR

From Vasāli the Teacher reached Suṁsgumārapura and then proceeded to Bhogapura Then he left for Nandiggāma and from there journeyed to Mendhiyagāma. Then Mahāvīra proceeded to Kosambī, where he received his alms after a period of four months. From Kosambī Mahāvīra set out for Sumangalgāma, and then he proceeded to Pālayagāma From here the Teacher reached Campā and passed twelfth rainy season here

THIRTEENTH YEAR

From Campā Mahāvīra reached Jambhiyagāma, and then journeyed to Menḍhiyagāma Then he proceeded to Chammānigāma where a cow-herd is said to have thrust iron nails into his ears. Mahāvīra arrived

at Majjhima Pāvā in this condition when the nails were removed from his ears. From here the Teacher travelled towards Jambhiyagāma where on the northern bank of the river Ujjuvāliyā, in the farm of the householder Sāmāga, under a sāla tree, in north-east of the Veyāvatta shrine, after a period of 12 years, 6 months and 15 days, Mahāvīra attained omniscience (*kevala*) on the bright tenth day of *vaiśākha* [3]

After Mahāvīra attained *keval*hood, a *samavasarana* (religious conference) was held on the bank of the river Ujjuvāliyā, but it is said that the first preaching of Mahāvīra remained unsuccessful Then after traversing twelve *yojanas*, Mahāvīra is said to have returned to Majjhima Pāvā where the second *samavasarana* was convened in the garden of Mahāsena. Here, after a long discussion on various religious and philosophic points, Mahāvīra ordained the eleven learned Brāhmins mentioned already.[4]

Thus we see that after twelve years of severe penance and meditation Mahāvīra attained omniscience at the age of forty two, and lived thereafter for thirty years to preach his religion According to the *Kalpasūtra*,[5] since Mahāvīra renounced the life of a householder, he spent forty two rainy seasons at the following places He stayed the first rainy season in Atthiyaggāma, three rainy seasons in Campā and Pitthicampā, and eight in Vasāli and Vāniyagāma These twelve rainy seasons Mahāvīra passed during his ascetic life before he attained omniscience Then during the thirty years of his career as a Teacher, Mahāvīra spent four rainy seasons in Vesāli and Vāniyagāma, fourteen in Rāyagiha and Nālandā, six in Mithilā, two in Bhaddiya, one in Ālabhiyā, one in Paniyabhūmi one in Sāvatthī and one in the town of Pāvā in the office of the survey-ministers of king Hatthivāla which was the last rainy season of the Teacher

Thus the *Kalpasūtra's* authority on the itinerary of Mahāvīra is ancient and fairly reliable It is evident from the *Kalpasūtra* that the ground which Mahāvīra covered during his ascetic life is roughly by Bihar, a part of northern-western Bengal and a part of eastern U P The tradition which mentions his visit to Vītibhaya, which according to the Jain tradition was the capital of Sindhu Sovira, to preach to king Uddāyana, is of very doubtful veracity The earliest reference to this visit is found in the *Bhagavatī* and later on certain *Cūrnis* perpetuate the tradition It is quite possible that in later times, when Jainism spread to Western India, the Jains did come in contact with the people of Sindhu Sovira, and to prove that their connection with that part of the country was not new, the story of Mahāvīra's visit seems to have originated In this connection it is interesting to note that Buddhism, when it spread to the Punjab

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[3] *Āva. Nir.* 458-527, *Āva Bha* III, *Āva. cū* pp 268-323, *Kalpa.* 5, *Āca.* II 3 *Cūlā* *Bhag* 15.

[4] *Kalpa.* Ṭī. 5 121, Āva Nir 540 ff.

[5] 5 123.

and beyond, produced a literature which expressly mentions Buddha visiting those far off lands, which as a matter of fact seems to be quite absurd and analogous process, though on much lesser scale is evident in the Jain scriptures Jainism, however, never spread outsides the confines of India, neither there is proof that it gained a foot-hold in the Punjab at any time Hence Jainism had very few opportunities to sanctify the places in the Punjab with the presence of its *Tīrthaṅkaras*.

CHAPTER IV

GEOGRAPHICAL LEXICON

In order to arrange systematically the mass of geographical material in the Jain canons and their commentaries, we have felt it advisable to place it in alphabetical order, together with their descriptions as given in the Jain texts, their places of references and identification and location wherever possible.

I

Abbuya—a mountain

Abbuya is mentioned with Pabhāsa where *sankhaḍi* (a feast) was celebrated.[1]

Abbuya is identical with Mount Abu in the Sirohi State of Rajputana It is one of the five sacred hills of the Jains, others being Satruñjaya, Samet Śikhar, Girnar and Candragiri.[2]

Ābhīra—a country

This country was visited by Ajja Samiya[3] and Vairasāmi [4]

Ābhīra was situated in Dakṣiṇāpatha and Terā (Tagarā) was a beautiful city of this country.[5]

Acalaggāma—city

Acalaggāma was situated in Magadha.[6] A royal road (*rāyapaha*) is mentioned in Ayalaggāma.[7] Its exact situation is not known.

Acalapura—a town (ahiṭṭhāna)

Acalapura was situated in Ābhīra The rivers Kanhā and Bennā flowed near the town, and between them was the Island Bambhadīva, a habitat of five hundred tāvasas.[8]

It is identified with modern Ellichpur in Berar.

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1 *Bṛh Bhā*, 1 3150
2 Dey, *G D*, p 10
3 *Āva. Ṭī*, p 514a, unless otherwise stated such references should be taken to the commentary of Malayagiri
4 *Āva. Cū*, p. 397.
5 *Bṛhatkathakośa* 138 39f, 56 52 For the race of the Ābhīras see Bhandarkar *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, *p* 37.
6 *Uttarā. Ṭī*, 18, p. 243, also cf *Maraṇa* 449, p. 126a
7 *Vasu*, p 197.
8 *Piṇḍa Nir*, 503, *Āva. Ṭī.*, p. 514a; *Nandi*, p. 50a.

Acchā—a kingdom

Acchā is included among the twentyfive and a half Āryan countries and the sixteen *Janapadas*; Varaṇa or Varuṇā was its capital

Acchā may be identified with the region round Bulandshahar in United Provinces (see Varaṇā)

Adamba? (Ambaḍa)—a country

Ambada is mentioned along with Bahalī, Illā, Jonaga, Pallava and Suvaṇṇabhūmi Usabha, the first *Tīrthankara*, is said to have travelled these countries.[9]

(See infra Ambada).

Addapura (Ārdrakapura—a city)

Addapura was situated in a non-Āryan country (*mlecchavisaya*) King Ārdraka was ruling over here He is mentioned to be a contemporary of king Seniya and to have sent him presents.[10]

It cannot be located However, Adra, an important railway station is situated in the Manbhum district in Bengal.

Ādī or Āvī—a river

Ādī or Āvī is one of the five great tributory rivers of the Ganges, others being Jaunā, Saraū, Kosī and Mahī[11]

Ādī or Āvī seems to be the same as Erāvai or Acirāvatī or Ajiravati which is mentioned as one of the five great rivers in Pali literature, and may be identified with Rapti in Oudh.

Ahicchattā—a city

Ahicchattā was the capital of Jangala, which is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries.

This city was situated to the north-east? (north-west) of Campā and was a business centre[12] It is mentioned as a holy place along with Atthāvaya, Ujjinta, Gayaggapura, Dhammacakka and Rahāvatta. Pārsvanātha was worshipped here by Dharanendra.[13]

According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, Saṅkhāvai was another name of Ahicchatra.[14] It was also called Pratyagraratha[15] or Sivapurī.[16]

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9 *Āca. Nir*, 336.
10 *Sūya* II 6
11 *Thā* 5. 470.
12 *Nāyā* 15, p 158.
13 *Ācā Nir*. 335.
14 p 14
15 *Abhidhāna*. IV. 26.
16 *Kalpa* 6, p. 167.

According to the *Mahābhārata*, northern Pañcāla had its capital at Ahicchatrā or Chatravatī, while southern Pañcāla at Kāmpilya. Ahicchatrā is identical with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district.[17]

Akkasthalī

Akkasthalī and Ānandapura are mentioned as two different places.[18] Akkatthala was one of the five places mentioned in Mathurā others being Vīrathala, Paumatthala, Kusatthala and Mahāthala [19]

Ālabhiyā—a city

It is said that Ālabhiyā was a centre of the *samanovāsagas*[20] and was visited by Mahāvīra [21] From here he proceeded to Kūndāka Sannivesa.[22] At another time he travelled here from Vayaggāma and proceeded to Seyaviyā [23] Ālabhiyā was also visited by Gosāla [24]

Ālabhiyā is mentioned as Ālavī in Buddhist literature and was located thirty *yojanas* from Sāvatthi and twelve *yojanas* from Benares It lay between Sāvatthī and Rājagṛha and Buddha spent rainy season here [25]

Alasaṇḍa—a country

It is said that Bharata conquered this country (see Anga).

In *Milindapañha* Alasanda is mentioned with China, Benares, Gandhāra and other countries [26] The *Mahāvaṃsa* refers to the town of Alasanda which was the chief city of the Yona territory [27]

It is identified with the town of Alexandria founded by Alexander near Kabul in the Paropanisadæ country [28]

Āmalakappā—a city

It is mentioned that Āmalakappā was visited by Pāsa[29] and Mahāvīra.

Āmalakkappā is identical with Allakappa of Buddhist literature. Perhaps Allakappa lay not very far from Vethadīpa,[30] which is stated to be situated on the way from Masāī in Shahabad district to Vaisālī

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17 *C A G I*, pp 413, 705
18 *Nisī Cū*, II p 23 (MSS)
19 *Viv* p 18
20 *Bhag*, 11 12
21 See Supra, p 259
22 Ibid
23 *Āva Nir*, 516
24 *Ibid*, 15, also *L a* 5
25 Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, under "Ālavī," also see *P H A I* p. 160, Hoernle, *U a* Appendix, pp 51-53 notes
26 *Milindapañha* p 327
27 XXIX 39
28 *Mahāvamsa* trans, p 194 see also Dr Sylvain Levi's article "Alexander and Alexandria in Indian Literature," *I H Q*, 1936, p 121 ff
29 *Nāyā* II, p 222 *Rāya Su* 1, *Āva Cū*, II, 196.
30 *G E B*, p 24 f

Ānandapura—a city

Ānandapura was situated near the mountain-range of Vindhya.[31] It was a centre of trade where goods were carried by land route, by carts and other vehicles. It is said that the walls of the city were made of bricks.[32] The citizens of Ānandapura visited the river Saraswatī and celebrated feast there.[33] Ānandapura was a centre of Jain monks,[34] who are said to have travelled from here to Mathurā [35]

Ānandapura is identified with Vadnagar in northern Gujerat, seventy miles south of Sidhpur [36]

Andha—a country

Āndhra was considered as a non-Āryan country, but king Sampai is said to have opened it for movement of the Jain monks, along with the countries of Surattha, Dravida, Mahārāstra and Kuḍukka.[37]

It is said that the people of Andha were known for their cruel disposition (*akūramata*).[38] Rice was called here *idāku* [39]

Āndhradesa is the country between the Godāvarī and the Krishṇā including the district of Krishnā[40]

Andhapura—a city

It is said that king Anandha was ruling over this city.[41]

Andhapura is mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas. It was the capital of Āndhra and was situated on the Telavāha river.[42]

Aṅga—a kingdom

Anga is mentioned as one of the sixteen *Janapadas* and was included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Campā as its capital.

Angaloka is mentioned together with the countries of Simhala, Babbara, Cilāyaloka, Javanadīva, Ārabaka, Romaka, Alasanda and Kaccha which were conquered by Bharata.[43]

In Buddhist literature, Anga is included among the sixteen *Mahā-Janapadas*.[44]

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31 *Pinda Nir*, Tī, 83, p 31
32 *Brh Bhā* Vr 1 1090, *ibid*, 1 1123
33 *Ibid*, 1 3150
34 *Sūya Cū*, p 253
35 *Nisī Cū*, p 5, p 434
36 *G D*, p 6
37 *Brh Bhā*, 1 3289, *Nisī Cū*, 5, p 438
38 *Vya Bhā* 7 126 p 24a, also cf *Mahābhā*, IV 119 where Āndhras are described as a rude race
39 *Brh Bhā* Vr, Pī, 57
40 *G E B*, p 62, also *P H A I*, pp 78, 258
41 *Brh Bhā*, 4 5226
42 I, p 111, *G E B*, p 24
43 *Jambu Sū*, 52, p 217 a, *Āva Cū*, p 191
44 The countries mentioned are Anga, Magadha, Kāsī, Kosala, Vajji, Mallā, Ceti, Vamsā Kuru Pañcāla Macchā, Sūrasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kamboja, *Anguttara* I, p 213

It is identical with the country about the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr.[45]

Añjana—a mountain

This mountain is referred to in the *Āvasyaka Cūrni* [46]

Añjana Pavvaya is one of the six peaks of the Himalaya from which rose the five great rivers and round which were the seven lakes.[47] It is identified with the Suleiman range in the Punjab.[48]

Antarañjiyā or *Antarañji—a city*

Antarañjiyā is mentioned in the *Thānānga* [49] Antarañjiyā is mentioned as a *sākhā* of the Jain *śramanas* in the *Kalpasūtra*.[50]

It may be identified with Atranji-khera situated on the right bank of the Kāli nadi, four miles to the south of Karsāna and eight miles to the north of Etah.[51]

Aojjhā, *Avajjhā* or *Ujjhā*[52]*—a city*

Aojjhā was the capital of Kosala which is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries

Aojjhā is described as the birthplace of the second and fourteenth *Tīrthankaras* [53] (See also Ikkhāgabhūmi ; Kosalā , Sāketa , Vinītā, Visāhā).

During the Buddhist period, Ayojjhā on the Sarayū was the capital of Daksina Kosala, while that of Uttara Kosala was Sāvatthī on the Rapti. The capital cities of Kosala were Sāvatthī and Sāketa Ayodhyā is about four miles from Fyzabad and phonetically corresponds to modern Oudh.[54]

Āpāpā, *Majjhimā Pāvā* or *Pāvā—a city*

It is said that Mahāvīra travelled here from Chamānī and proceeded to Jambhiyagāma where he attained *kevala*hood at the bank of the river Ujjuvāliyā.[55]

45 *G. D.*, p 7.
46 p. 516
47 Malalasekara, *op cit* , under "Añjana."
48 *G. D.*, p. 8
49 7. 587. Also *Ā.a cū* , p. 121
50 8, p 231.
51 *C. A. G* I , p 418f
52 According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (p 24), Aujjhā, Avajjhā, Kosalā, Viniyā, Sākeya, Ikkhāgubhūmi, Rāmapuri and Kosala are other names of Ayodhyā.
53 *Ā.a. Nir* , 382, 323
54 *G. E. B* , pp 5, 23 1
55 See Supra, p 261.

According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*,[56] Majjhimapāvā was called Apāvāpurī but since Mahāvīra died here, it was changed into Pāvāpurī. It is identified with Pāwāpurī seven miles to the east of Bihar town in Bihar [57]

Arakkhurī—a city

It is stated that Arakkhurī was situated on the border (*paccantanagara*) of Campā.[58]

Its exact situation is not known.

Aritthapura or *Ritthapura—a city*

Aritthapura is mentioned in the commentary of the *Panhavāgaraṇa* [59]

Aritthapura is mentioned in Pali literature. It was the capital city of the Sivi kingdom. It lay on the road from Mithilā to Pañcāla [60]

Asitagiri—a mountain

This mountain was situated near Ujjeṇī.[61]

Its exact situation is not known.

Asivovaddava—a city

It is mentioned in the commentary of the *Uttarādhyayana* [62]

Its exact location is unknown.

Atthāvaya—a mountain

It is said that Usabha attained salvation at this mountain [63] Atthāvaya was also visited by Goyama.[64] (See also Ahicchattā).

It is mentioned that this mountain was connected with Veyaddha and was eight *yojanas* in height and at its foot flowed the river Niyadi [65]

A description of this mountain is given in the *Trisastisalākāpurusacarita* [66] It was called Astāpada because around it eight steps were made It was also known as Harādri, Kailāsa and Sphatikādri [67]

Atthāvaya is identical with Kailāsa which is Kangrinpoche of the Tibetans, situated about twenty five miles to the north of Mānasarovara beyond Gangri.[68]

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56 P. 44.
57 *Dist. Gaz Patna.*
58 *Āva Nir.*, 1297, also see *Āyu* II, p. 229, *Vasu.* p 79
59 4, p. 88, see also *Vasu.*, p 364 f
60 Malalasekara, *op cit*, under "Aritthapura"
61 *Āva Nir*, 1304 The *Vasu* (p 284) also mentions Asiyagiri, but it was situated in Kosala.
62 1, p. 5.
63 *Jambu Sū*, 70, p 278
64 *Āva. Nir.*, 307, also *Uttara. Cū.*, p 180
65 *Vasu.*, pp. 309, 335.
66 Vol I, 6 78 ff, p 332 ff
67 *Ibid*, p 370
68 *G. D*, p. 82.

Aṭṭhiyaggāma—a village

The older name of Atthiyaggāma was Vaddhamāna, where a temple was built upon an enormous heap of bones (*atthi*) of the people and hence it came to be known as Atthiyaggāma Mahāvīra is said to have journeyed to this place from Morāga Sannivesa The river Veyavai flowed near this village. Mahāvīra is said to have passed first rainy season at this place.[69]

Dr. Law identifies it with Hatthigāma which lay on the high road from Vaisāli to Pāvā.[70]

Avāha—a kingdom

Avāha is mentioned as one of the sixteen *Janapadas* in the *Bhagavatī*.[71]

It is not identified.

Avakkhaṇḍa or *Avaraṅkaḍa* (?)

Avakkhanda is mentioned as an unholy place (*kutitha*) [72]
The text seems to be corrupt and hence the place cannot be identified.

Avantī—a kingdom

Ujjenī was the capital of Avantī (see Ujjenī).

Avantī roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the Central Provinces Avantī was divided into two parts : the northern part had its capital at Ujjeni, and the southern part, called Avantī Daksināpatha, had its capital at Māhissatī or Mahiṣmatī.[73]

Avarakankā—a city

It is stated that Avarakankā was situated in the Dhāyaikhandadīva,[74] a mythical region

It is not identified.

Āvattagāma—a village

Mahāvīra is stated to have journeyed to this place from Nangalā and proceeded to Corāya Sannivesa from here.[75]

Its exact situation is not known.

69 See Supra., p. 257
70 *Mahāvīra : His Life and Teachings*, p. 33.
71 See Supra
72 *Nisī Cū.*, 11, p 685
73 Bhandarkar, *Charmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 54.
74 *Nāyā.*, 16, p 185 f
75 See Supra p 258

Bāhala—a country

This country was noted for its horses;[76] barley-meal (*sattu*) is mentioned as a common food here.[77]

It is the same as Vāhīka situated in the plains of the Punjab alongside Madra desa, between the Chenab and Sutlej[78]

Bahalī—a country

Takkhasilā was the capital of Bahalī.[79] It is said that Usabha entrusted the kingdom of Vinītā to Bharata and that of Bahalī to Bāhubali, and renounced the throne.[80] It was a non-Āryan country and the maid-servants were brought from here.[81]

It is the same as Vāhlīka and is identified with Balkh in modern Afghanistan. (See also Adamba).

Bahusālaga—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra journeyed to this place from Maddaṇa and proceeded to the capital Lohaggala.[82]

Its exact situation is not known.

Bambhadīva—an island

It is said that Bambhadīva was situated between the rivers Kanhā and Bennā, where five hundred monks are said to have joined the Jain order of ascetics These tāvasas[83] were the forerunners of the Bambhadīvigā *sāhā* of the Jain *sramanas* mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra*.[84]

Its exact location is not known.

Bambhanagāma—a village

It is stated that Mahāvīra journeyed to this place from Suvannakhalaya and proceeded to Campā[85]

Its exact situation is not known.

Bambhatthalaya—a city

It is stated that the sixth *Tīrthankara* received his first alms here.[86]

76 *Āva Nir*, p. 679.
77 *Ācā. Tī*, 1. 1, p. 4a.
78 Dr Motichand's article; Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata *J U P. S.* Vol. XVII, pt. I, pp. 46 f.
79 *Āva. Cū*, p 180.
80 *Ibid.*, p. 160.
81 *Nāyā*, 1, p. 21.
82 See Supra., p. 259.
83 *Āva Tī.*, p. 514a.
84 8, p 233.
85 See Supra., p. 258.
86 *Āva. Nir*, 323.

It seems that Bambhatthalaya was another name of Hatthināura. It is said in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* that wherever the venerable ascetic Usabha travelled in Hatthināpura for alms, people made a jewel-seat (*maṇipīḍhiyā*) in his honour and since then came into being Bambhatthala [87]

Bannāsā—a river

It is said that the corn was cultivated by flood in this river.[88]

Several rivers of this name are noticed It is difficult to identify this river.

Bāravai—a city

Bāravi (Dvāravatī) was the capital of Suratthā which is counted among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. Bāravi is described in several texts of the Jains and mentioned as nine *yojanas* in extension and twelve in length, surrounded by the stone walls [89] To the north-east of the city was located the mountain Revaya[90] and nearby was the Nandanavana garden with the shrine of Surappia Jakkha [91]

Bāravai was the home of Andhagavanhi[92] and Kanha Vāsudeva.[93] It is said that Bāravai was destroyed by the sage Dīvāyana due to the excessive drinking of the Yadava princes [94]

Bāravai was a centre of trade [95] and people travelled here from Nepāla pattana(?) by boats (*nāvā*) [96]

In the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, Bāravai is mentioned as a chief town of the four *Janapadas*, viz , Ānattha, Kusattha, Surattha and Sukkarattha.[97] According to the *Mahābhārata*, on account of the pressure of Jarāsandha, Kṛṣṇa left Mathurā and founded the city of Dvārakā near the mountain Raivataka.[98]

Bāravai is identified with modern Junagadh situated very near the Raivataka hills and is different from Dvārakā on the sea-shore.[99]

Beṇṇā—a river

The city of Bennāyada was situated on the bank of the river Bennā.[100]

It is identified with the Wain Gangā in the Central Provinces. It is a tributary of the Godāvarī [101]

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87 p 165, cf *C A G I*, pp 306-18.
88 *Brh Bhā* Vr , I 1239
89 See e g , *Nāyā* , 5, p. 68 , *Anta.*, 1, p. 4f ; *Niryā* 5 ; *Brh. Bhā.*, 1. 1123.
90 *Nāyā* , 5, p 68.
91 *Anta* , 1. p. 4f
92 *Ibid* , p. 5.
93 *Nāyā* , 5, p 68.
94 *Anta* , 5, p 25 , also *Āva. Nir* 325 , *Āva. Cū* , II. p. 19.
95 *Āva Cū* , p 553
96 *Nisī Cū* , p 110 (Mss)
97 p 77.
98 Sabhā 14, , for the description of Dvārakā, see *op cit* 57 ; *Harivamśa* (II. 58) ; see also *Ghata Jātaka* (No 434), IV, p. 82 ff
99 N K Bhattasali, *I H. Q* , 1934 pp 541-50
100 *Āva Cū* p 547.
101 *Dist. Gaz. Bhandārā*, 1908, pp. 240 ff.

Beṇṇāyaḍa or *Veṇṇāyaḍa—a city*

The city was situated on the bank of the Beṇṇā and hence it was called Beṇṇāyaḍa.[102] It was a centre of trade and the merchants landed here with various merchandise while returning from Pārasakūla[103] It is said that Bennayada was visited by Seniya when he was a prince[104] According to the *Bṛhatkathākoṣa*, Vinyātatapura was located in Virāta.[105]

Bhaddilapura—a city

Bhaddilapura was the capital of Malaya which is counted among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries It is said that Bhaddilapura was visited by Aritthanemi,[106] and was the birthplace of the tenth *Titthayara*[107]

It is identified with Bhadia, a village near Kuluhā hill about six miles from Hunterganj in the Hazaribagh district, which sometimes back was reputed as the birthplace of the tenth *Tīrthankara*, but curiously enough it is now entirely unknown to the jains[108]

Bhaddiya—a city

It is said that Mahāvīra passed two rainy seasons here. He is said to have journeyed here from Punnakalasa and proceeded to Kayaliggāma ; at another time he travelled here from Sālisīsa and proceeded to Magadha[109]

Bhaddiya was a city in the Anga kingdom and was visited by Buddha[110]

It is identified with modern Monghyr.[111]

Bhaṅga or *Bhangī—a kingdom*

Bhanga is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Pāvā as the capital.

Bhanga is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II 31. 11). It included the districts of Hazaribagh and Manbhum[112]

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[102] *Anu Sū*, 130, p 137.
[103] *Uttarā Tī* p 64.
[104] *Āva Cū*, p 546.
[105] 80 70f
[106] *Anta*, 3, p 7f
[107] *Āva Nir*, 383.
[108] *Dist Gaz Hazaribagh*, p 202.
[109] See Supra. p 259
[110] *Dhammapada A*, Vol I, p 384.
[111] Rāhul Sānkrityayana, *Vinaya Piṭaka.*, p. 248n.
[112] *S.B.M*, p. 379.

Bhansurulāya (?)

It is mentioned in the *Nisītha Cūrṇi*. It is said that at the time of the feasts the *bahuraja* ascetics assembled here.[113]

The text seems to be corrupt and hence it cannot be identified.

Bharukacchaharanī—a village

This village was situated in Suratthā.[114]

Its exact location is not known.

Bharuyakaccha—a city

Bharuyakaccha was a centre of trade and is quoted as an example of *donamukha*, where goods were carried by land route as well as water route.[115] Bharuyakaccha was visited by ācārya Vairabhūi.[116] Here people celebrated the feast in honour of Kundalamentha, a vānamantara god,[117] who is said to have built the tank Bhūyatalāya to the north of the city.[118]

The distance between Ujjenī and Bharuyakkacha is said to have been twenty five *yojanas*, which was traversed by Lohajangha, an errand-carrier of Pajjoya in one day[119]

According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, Bharuaccha was the beauty of Lāda.[120]

Bharukaccha is mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas. It was a sea-port town from which the ships used to sail for different countries.

It is identified with modern Broach.[121]

Bheraṇḍa

It is said that Bheranda was known for its sugarcane.[122]

Its location cannot be identified.

Bhillamāla—a city

It is said that *dramma*, a silver coin, was current in this town.[123]

It is identified with modern Bhinmāla, a town in the Jaswantpur, district of Jodhpur.[124]

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113 12, p 810.
114 *Vya. Bhā*, 10 10, *Uttarā Tī*, 4, p. 78a.
115 *Bṛh. Bhā* Vr, 1 1090
116 *Vya. Bhā*, 3. 58
117 Brh Bhā p 3150.
118 *Ibid*, 3 4220 f
119 *Āva. Cū*, II, 160
120 p. 20.
121 *C A G I*, p. 374.
122 *Jīvā*, 3, 355.
123 *Bṛh Bhā*, Vṛ. 1. 1969; *Nisī. Cū.*, 10. p. 616. *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, 2, p. 55.
124 *C.A.G.I.*, p. 697.

Bhīmapalli—a village

(see Vasantapura).

Bhogakaḍa—a city

It is said that king Hatthimitta, the ruler of Ujjenī, took to the ascetic life and proceeded to Bhogakada [125]

According to the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, Bhoyakada was situated near the Vindhya region [126]

Reference is made to Bhojakata in the Bharhut inscriptions The Sabhāparva (32) of the *Mahābhārata* mentions Bhojakata and Bhojakatapura as two places in the South conquered by Sahadeva Bhojakata is the same as Bhoja or Bhojya of the Purāṇas and it is a country of the Vindhya region [127]

Bhogapura—a city

It is said that Mahāvīra journeyed to this place from Sumsumārapura and proceeded to Nandiggāma or Nandipura. Here he was caused considerable annoyance by Mahenda Khattiya [128]

It is mentioned that a variety of stone was available here which was used for polishing the pots of the monks.[129]

Bhogagāmanagara is mentioned in Pali literature Buddha proceeded to Pāvā from here [130] It lay between Pāvā and vesāli [131]

Bhūlissara—a holy place

It is said that a poor Brāhmana of Ānandapura stood here in fast, but was asked to go to Kaccha and offer food to the *sāvagas* there.[132]

It is not identifiable

Bhūyatalāya—a tank

Bhūyatalāya was a tank to the north of Bharuyakaccha (See Bharuyakaccha).

Cakkapura—a city

It is said that the seventh *Titthayara* received his first alms at this place.[133]

It is not identified.

125 *Uttarā cū.* 2, p. 53
126 p 100.
127 *G E B*, p 62, also *P H A. I.*, p 77.
128 See Supra., p 260.
129 *Pinda Nir Ṭī*, 15
130 *Dīgha* II, p 126.
131 *Suttanipāta*, V. 1 38
132 *Āva cū*, II, 291.
133 *Āva. Nir.* 325, also *Vasu.*, p. 219.

Camarī—a village.

It is mentioned that Camarī was an inaccessible village of the Bhillas, which was situated on the way to Sankhapura from Vārāṇasī.[134]

It is not identifiable.

Campā—a city

Campā was the capital of Aṅga which was considered among the twenty five and a half Aryan countries. Campā was included first among the ten ancient capitals of India[135]

Campā is enumerated as a holy place along with the mountain Sammeya, where salvation could be attained.[136] It is mentioned as the place of birth and salvation of the twelfth *titthayara*[137] Mahāvīra and his chief disciple Ajja Suhamma are said to have visited Campā frequently;[138] Campā was also frequented by Gosāla[139] and Jamāli,[140] Managa was ordained here by his father Sejjambhava.[141]

A detailed description of Campā and its beautiful shrine Punnabhadda is given in the *Ovāiya*, where Mahāvīra, moving in the company of a large number of monks and nuns, arrived, and the king Kūṇiya with his paraphernalia went on his pilgrimage[142] It is mentioned that in Campā the first and the tenth sections of the fifth chapter of the *Bhagvatī* were preached by the Teacher,[143] and *Uvāsagadasāo* and *Antagaḍadasāo*, the seventh and the eighth Aṅgas of the Jain Canon, were explained by Ajja Suhamma to his disciple Jambu[144]

Kūṇiya was a well-known king of Campā, who, after the death of his father, did not like to stay in Rāyagiha and shifted his capital to Campā.[145]

Campā was noted for commerce, and traders sailed from here to different places for trading purposes We come across a beautiful description of sea-faring merchants in the *Nāyādhammakahā*[146] Several merchants such as Mākandī[147], Dhaṇa[148] and Pālitta[149] are mentioned in Campā

Campā was visited by Buddha several times and it was celebrated for its beautiful lake, Gaggarā. Its actual site is probably two villages Campānagar and Campāpur near Bhagalpur[150]

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134 *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 4, p. 92a.
135 See Supra.
136 *Bṛh. Bhā*, Vṛ. 1. 1227.
137 *Āva Nir* 307, 383.
138 See e g *Bhag.* 5·1; *Āva. cū*, p. 455; *Āva. Nir.* 476; 523 ff., *Kalpa.* 5·123.
139 *Bhag.* 15
140 *Āva. cū.*, p. 418.
141 *Das. cū*, 1, p. 7.
142 Sū. 1, 2, 10.
143 *Bhag*, 5.
144 *Uvā*, 1, *Anta.*, 1.
145 See e g *Nāyā.*, 1, p. 1; *Daśā.*, 9, p. 310.
146 8, p 97 ff.
147 *Ibid.*, 9, p. 121 ff.
148 *Ibid*, 15, p. 158.
149 *Uttarā. Sū.*, 21. 2.
150 *G. E. B.*, p. 6.

Caṇagapura—a city

It is said that king Jiyasattu was ruling over the city of Khiipaitthıya, when the buildings of the city came to ruin, the architects selected a gram-field abounding in fruits and flowers, where Caṇagapura was founded[151]

According to the tradition, Canagapura is another name of Rāyagiha

Caṇayagāma—a village

Canayagāma was situated in Golla and was the birthplace of Cāṇakya.[152]

Its exact situation is not identifiable.

Candabhāgā—a river

Candabhāgā was one of the five great tributory rivers of Sindhu, others being Sataddu, Vibhāsā, Vitatthā and Erāvatī.[153]

According to Buddhist literature, it was eighteen leagues in length and had a rapid current.[154]

It is identified with modern Chenab.[155]

Candaṇā

It is referred to in the *Niryāvaliyāo.*[156]

It is unidentifiable.

Candāṇanā—a city

Candāṇanā is mentioned as a birthplace of the eighth *Titthayara.*[157]

It is identified with modern Candrāvatī, a village near Benares. It was also known as Candramādhava.[158]

Cedi—a kingdom

Cedi was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Suttivai as its capital.

It roughly corresponds to modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region.[159]

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151 *Āva. cū*, II, p. 158.
152 *Āva. cū* p. 563; according to the Buddhist tradition, Cāṇakya was a resident of Takkasilā (*Mahāvamsa Ṭīkā*, p. 181).
153 *Ṭhā.* 5. 470.
154 The com. on the *Digha.*, III, p. 878.
155 Law, *Geog.*, p. 88.
156 3·7.
157 *Āva. Nır.* 382.
158 *Prācīnatīrthamālā*, Pt. I, p. 4.
159 *G. E. B.*, p. 16.

Ceiya—a settlement (sannivesa)

It is referred to in the *Āvaśyaka Niryukti.*[160]
Its exact location is unknown.

Chagalapura—a city

It is mentioned in the *Vivāgasuya*[161]
It is unidentifiable.

Chammāṇi.—a village

Mahāvīra is said to have arrived here from Meṇḍhiyagāma and proceeded to Majjhima Pāvā.[162]
Its exact location is not known.

Chattagāpurī—a village

Chattagā is referred to in the *Āvaśyaka Niyukti.*[163]
It is unidentifiable.

Cittakūda—a mountain

It is said that Sukosala stood here in meditation and was devoured by a tigress [164] Cittakūda is mentioned along with the mountain Gopālagiri [165]
It is identified with Kamptanāthgiri in Bundelkhand.[166]

Corāya—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvira arrived here from Kumāra Sannivesa and proceeded to Pitthicampā ; at another time he is said to have travelled here from Āvattagāma and proceeded to Kalambuka Sannivesa.[167]
Perhaps it may be identified with Choreya in Lohardugga district in Bengal [168]

Cullahimavanta—a mountain

This mountain was visited by Vairasāmi, who arrived here from Māhesarī.[169]

160 442
161 4, p 29.
162 See Supra, p. 260.
163 450.
164 *Maraṇa* 466.
165 *Bhag.*, *Ṭī.*, 7. 6.
166 *G. E. B.*, p. 40.
167 See Supra, p. 258.
168 *Index Geographicus Indicus.*, p. XXV, J. F. Baness, 1881.
169 *Āva. Ṭī.* p. 390a.

. It may correspond to the southern slopes of the Himalayan tract.

Daddara—a country

This country was noted for its sandalwood [170]

Dardura was a mountain in the extreme south of India. In the *Mahābhārata* Malaya and Dardura are mentioned as the two highest mountains in the extreme south.[171]

Daḍhabhūmi

Daḍhabhūmi was said to be inhabited by many Mlecchas. Mahāvīra arrived here from Sānulatthiyagāma and proceeded to Peḍhālagāma.[172]

It may be identified with Dalabhum in Singhbhum district in Bengal.

Dakkhiṇa Mahurā—a city

Same as Pāṇḍu Mahurā

Dakkhiṇavācāla

Mahāvīra is stated to have arrived here from Morāga Sannivesa and proceeded to Uttaravācāla.[173]

Its exact site is not known.

Dakkhināvaha—southern division of India

Dakkhināvaha was a great centre of the Jains and was praised much by the Jain monks.[174] It is mentioned that there were many houses of the *sāvagas* in this land and the Jain monks were offered plentiful alms.[175] Dakkhināvaha was visited by Vairasāmī [176]

The people of Dakkhināvaha are characterised as dull It is said that people from Magadha were very clever and they understood a thing merely by signs, people from Kosala by seeing, people from Pañcāla by half hearing, and people from Dakkhināvaha understood nothing unless they were told explicitly.[177] The people from Daksināpatha put on dress quite unlike that of Uttarāvaha.[178] The blacksmiths and wine-

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170 *Nāyā*. 8, p. 98, etc.
171 II 10. 33f.
172 See Supra., p. 260.
173 See Supra, p. 257.
174 Cf *Bṛh Bhā*, Vṛ, 1 2697.
175 *Nisī Cū*, 15, p. 996.
176 *Āva Cū*, p. 404.
177 *Vya Bhā.*, 10. 192, cf.
Buddhirvasati pūrvena dākṣinyam dakṣiṇāpahe.
Paisūnyam pascime dese pāruṣyam cottarāpahe.
(Gilgit MS. of the *Vinaya piṭaka, I. H. Q.*, 1938, p. 416).
178 *Das. Cū*, 1. p. 17.

sellers were despised in this country,[179] and unlike Uttarāvaha one was allowed to marry one's maternal uncle's daughter.[180] It is said that the barley-meal was difficult to get here in summer[181]

King Sampai, first of all is said to have conquered Ujjenī, and then the whole of Dakkhināvaha and is said to have brought all neighbouring kings under his subjugation[182]

It is the tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges and to the north of Godāvarī[183]

Damila (Dravida)—a country

Damila was counted among the non-Āryan countries Magadha Mālava, Mahārāstra, Lāta, Karnātaka, Dravida, Gauda, Vidarbha and other countries are mentioned as places of origin of *desībhāsā* (regional language).[184] It is said that the maid-servants known as Dāmilī were brought from this country[185] Dāmilī was also known as a script (*livi*)[186]

It is mentioned that it was very difficult to get a shelter for the Jain monks in the country and under such circumstances they were allowed to stay under a tree.[187] The corn was grown here by the water of tanks,[188] and rice was known as *cora* in this country[189] (see also Andha)

The Damilas are identified with the Tamils Kaveripattana was a sea-port town in the Damila kingdom which is generally identified with the Malabar Coast or Northern Ceylon[190]

Dandakāranna or *Kumbhakārakada—a forest*

It is mentioned that Khandaga was ruling over Campā (or according to some, Sāvatthī),[191] who gave his sister Purandarajasā to Dandagī, the ruler of Kumbhakārakada in marriage In course of time Khandaga took to the ascetic life and wandering about, reached Kumbhakārakada, where he was crushed to death by the king's envoy It is said, after death Khandaga was born among the Agnikumāra gods and burnt the whole city to ashes This place came to be known as Dandakāranna.[192]

Dandakāranna is identified with the region round about the river Godāvarī in the district of Nasik and adjoining parts of Mahārāstra[193]

179 *Nisī Cū*, 16, p 1117.
180 *Das Cū*, 1, p 17.
181 *Brh Bhā* Vr, 1. 2389.
182 *Ibid*, 1. 3276.
183 *G. E B*, p. 48
184 *Brh Bhā*, Vr., 1 1231.
185 Supra, p. 107.
186 See Supra, p 176
187 *Brh Bhā*, Vr, 3 3749
188 *Ibid*, 1 1239.
189 *Das Cū*, 7, p 236
190 *G E B*, p 63.
191 Cf *Brh. Bhā*, 1. 3274, *Uttarā Cū*, p 73; *Uttarā Tī*, p 36.
192 *Nisī Cū*, 16, p 1113. Also cf the *Jātaka* (III, No 463) and the *Rāmāyana* (VII. 81, 10), where Kumbhavatī was destroyed by a shower of sand.
193 *P. B I.*, p 59.

Dantapura—a city

King Dantavakka is mentioned as the ruler of Dantapura.[194]

According to Pali literature, Dantapura was the capital of Kalinga Various identifications of Dantapura have been put forward. M. Sylvain Lévi identifies it with the Paloura of Ptolemy and places it in the neighbourhood of Chicacole.[195]

Dasanna—a kingdom

Dasanna is counted among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Mattiyāvai as its capital.

Dasārna is identified with Vidiśā or Bhilsa region in Gwalior.[196]

Dasannakūḍa or *Gayaggapadagiri—a mountain*

The mountain Dasannakūḍa was also called Gayaggapadagiri (see Gayaggapadagiri) A description of this mountain is given in the *Āvasyaka Cūrni*. It was situated to the north-east of Dasannapura and is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra.[197]

Its exact location is not known.

Dasannapura or *Elakacchapura—a city*

Dasannapura was a centre of trade and is quoted as an example of *thalapattana*, where goods were carried by land.[198]

Dassanapura was also known as Elagacchapura (see Elagacchapura).

Dasapura—a city

It is said that when Uddāyana, taking pajjoya as prisoner, returned to Vīibhaya, his army, including the ten kings, was held up by rains, and halted in the middle of the journey where the ten kings, fearing an attack, built mud walls around them for safety. Later on, this place was occupied by some merchants and since then this place came to be known as Dasapura.[199]

Ajja Rakkhia was a native of Dasapura and from here he is said to fhave gone to Pātaliputra for study.[200]

Dasapura is identified with modern Mandsor.[201]

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194 *Āva. Nir*, 1275, also see *Suya.*, 1·6. 22.
195 *P. B I.*, p. 401 f.
196 *G. E B.*, p. 26.
197 *Āva. Cū*, p. 476 ; *Āva. Tī.*, p. 468.
198 *Nisī Cū.*, 5, p. 34 (MSS).
199 *Āva Cū*, p 400 ff
200 *Ibid*, pp. 394, 402.
201 *C. A. G. I.*, p. 726.

Dhammacakkabhūmikā—a city

Dhammacakkabhūmikā was another name of Takkhasilā (see Takkhasilā)

Dhannakaḍa

It is said that the thirteenth *Titthayara* received his first alms at this place.[202]

It may be identified with Kupari in the Balasar district in Bengal; it was also known as Kopaka or Kopakaṭaka.[203]

Dhannaura—a settlement

Dhannaura was located in the country of Virāṭa.[204]

Its exact location is not known.

Dīlavāliyā

Dīlavaliyā was known for its mules (*assatara*).[205]

It cannot be identified.

Ḍimbhakaṭelaka

It is said that the corn was cultivated here by flood in the Mahirāvana [206]

Perhaps this place was situated in Koṅkaṇa.[207]

Dīva—an Island

It is said that Dīva was situated to the south of Suraṭṭha [207a] It is quoted as an example of *jalapattana* where goods were carried by boats.[208] Dīva and Jona are mentioned as countries known for the cemetery (*matagaleṇa*).[209] Dīva was also known for its coin known as *Sābharaka*.[210]

It may be identified with the island of the Arab. The Arabians call their habitat "*Jazīrat al Arab*"—"The Island of the Arab", as it is surrounded by water on three sides and by sand on the fourth.[211]

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202 *Āva Nir*, 324

203 *Prācīna Jain Smāraka* Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. However, Dhannakaṭaka is identified with Dharanikot in the Krishna or Guntur district in the Madras Presidency; *C. A. G I*, p 737, also see *Bulletin of the Madras Govt Museum*; Amaraoti sculptures in the Madras Govt Museum, by C. Sivarama Murti, 1942, p 4.

204 *Uttarā Ṭī*, 18 p 230f

205 Das cū 6 p 213

206 *Bṛh Bhā* Vṛ 1 1239

207 See *Purātana prabandha Saṅgraha* p. 39 where Mallikārjuna is called Mahirāvanādhipati.

207a *Bṛh Bhā*, 3 3891f. *Āva cū*, 2, p 225.

208 *Bṛh Bhā*, Vṛ. 1.1090.

209 *Ācā cū.*, p. 370.

210 *Bṛh Bhā*, 3 3891.

211 *History of the Arabs*, p 8, by Filip Hitti, London, 1937.

Durullakūviya—a village

This village was situated near Bharuyakaccha.[212]
Its exact location is not identifiable.

Elakacchapura—a city

It was also known as Dasannapura. It is said that a *srāvikā* was given in marriage to a heretic, who used to insult her. As a result of this, it is stated that the eyes of the heretic were plucked off by some divine power. But the *srāvikā* was faithful to her husband, so she stood in meditation and asked for the eyes of her lord to be given back. Thereupon the eyes of the heretic were replaced by the eyes of an immediately killed ram (*eḍaga*). Then the people began to call the heretic by the name of Eḍakaccha (having the eyes of a ram) and since then Dasannapura came to be known as Elakacchapura [213]

This town was situated on the bank of the river Vatthagā.[214] Elakaccha is said to have been visited by Mahāgiri [215] Erakaccha is mentioned in Pali literature.[216]

It may be identified with Eracha in Tahsil Moth, district Jhansi, which is situated on the right bank of Betwa.[217]

(1) *Erāvai—a river*

Erāvai was one of the five great tributaries of the Sindhu.[218]
It is same as the river Ravi in the Punjab.

(2) *Erāvai—a river*

This Erāvai lay near the town of Kunālā where it flowed half a *yojana* in extent The water of this river was knee-deep and could be crossed easily by keeping one foot in water and another in air Some places of Erāvai were dry and the Jain monks were allowed to go begging alms after crossing this river.[219]

The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* mentions a forest Bhūyarayana on the bank of Erāvai.[220]

Erāvai is identified with Acirāvati, the river Rapti in Oudh, on which the town of Sāvatthī was situated.[221]

Gāmāya—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Vesāli and proceeded to Sālisīsayagāma.[222]

Its exact location is not known.

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212 *Āva. Nir Dīpikā*, 1274
214 *Āvā cū*, p 226, also see *Gacchā* p 81 f.
213 *Āva cū.*, II, p. 156 f.
215 *Āva Nir* 1278.
216 *Pelavatthu* 2 7.
217 *Dist Gaz. of Jhansi*. Vol. XXIV, p. 264 ff.
218 See Supra, p 276.
219 *Kalpa Sū*, 9·12, *Bṛh. Sū*, 4·33; *Bṛh. Bhā* 4·5639, 5653; cf. *Aṅguttara* IV, p. 101.
220 p. 323.
221 *C. E B.*, *p.* 35 f.
222 See Supra, p. 259.

Gandaı—a river

Gandai flowed between Vesāli and Vāniyagāma. Mahāvīra is stated to have crossed this river while going to Vāniyagāma from Vesāli.[223]

The rivers Bānagangā and Gandaı are mentioned in the *Vıvıdhatīrthakalpa* entering into Mıthılā [224]

It is identıfied with the river Gandak in the district of Muzaffarpur.[225]

Gandhāra—a kıngdom

The kingdom of Gandhāra is mentioned at several places in Jain texts. It is said that a layman (*sāvaga*) journeyed from Gandhāra to Vīibhaya to pay ıeverence to the sandalwood idol of Mahāvīra which was in possession of kıng Udāyana.[226]

Puskarāvatī and Taksasılā were two capital cities of Gandhāra. It comprised the dıstricts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab [227]

Gaṅgā—a river

The Gaṅgā is counted among the five great rivers.[228]

It is stated that Bharata buılt the shrines of the *Arhats* on the mountain Atthāvaya To protect these shrines Janhukumāra, the eldest son of Sagara, made a moat around the mountain and filled it with water of the Ganges, and hence the Ganges came to be known as Janhuvī But it is saıd that this water filled the dwellıngs of the Nāgas, and the Nāga kings blazing wıth anger burnt the sons of Sagara to death. Later on, Bhagīratha, the son of Janhukumāra removed this water and hence the Ganges came to be known as Bhagīrathī.[229]

Gaṅgāmandıra—a mountain

It is said that Vinhukumāra practised penance on this mountain. He is said to have reached Hatthināpura from here by air.[230]

It is not identified.

223 See Supra, p 260.
224 p 32
225 *G D*, p 60
226 *Āva Cū*, p 399 ff
227 *G D*, p 60f
228 *Thā* 5 470, *Brh sū* 4 32 Also see *Vınaya*, II, p 237.
229 *Uttarā Tī*, 18, p 234af For the Hındu tradıtıon see *Rāmāyaṇa*, II 50·12 ff; Dey, *op cıt* p 79, Paıgıtar's *A I H T*, p 273 n
230 *Uttarā Tī*, 18, p 248 af Also cf. *Vasu*, p 129, *Vıvıdha*, p 43.

Gaṅgapura—a city

This city is referred to in the *Vivāgasuya*.[231]

It is not identified. However, one Gangapur town is mentioned in the Gonda district.[232]

Gaṅgāsāyara—a holy place

It is said that when the water of the Ganges was removed from the dwellings of the Nāgas, the Ganges was taken back to the eastern ocean and since then this confluence was known as Gangāsāyaratittha.[233]

It is same as Sāgara sangama, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III·115) It is a celebrated place of pilgrimage near the mouth of the Ganges [234]

Gauda—a country

The country of Gauda was known for its silk-garments (*dukūla*) [235] The whole of Bengal was denominated eastern Gauda from its capital of the same name, the ruins of which lie near Malda at a distance of about ten miles.[236]

Gayaggapadagiri—a mountain

Gayaggapadagiri was another name of Dasannakūda, situated in Dasannapura This mountain was visited by Mahāvīra when king Dasannabhadda set out on his elephant to pay him reverence At this time it is said that the elephant stood on his forefeet and by a superhuman power, its feet touched the mountain and left imprints. The king having noticed this wonder renounced the world and since then this mountain came to be known as Gayaggapadagiri. Mahāgiri is said to have practised penance on this mountain.[237]

This mountain is also known as Indapada and was surrounded by villages on all six sides.[238] (see also Ahicchattā; Elakacchapura)

Gayaura—a city

Gayapura was the metropolis of Kuru which is counted among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is another name of Hattināpura. (see Hatthināpura). Gayapura was the birthplace of the sixteenth, seventeenth and the eighteenth *Titthayaras*.[239]

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231 9, p 56.
232 See *Imp Gaz* under "Gangapur"; *Dist. Gaz Gonda* Vol. XLIV, 1905, p 251.
233 *Uttarā Ṭī* 18, p 235a.
234 *G D* p 171.
235 *Ācā Ṭī* II, p 361a, *Vya. Bhā.* 7·32.
236 *G D*, p 63 Also see *History of Bengal*, Vol I, pp. 12ff.
237 *Āva Nir Dīpikā*, 1278; *Āva. Ṭī.* p. 468.
238 *Bṛh Bhā* 3 4841.
239 *Āva. Nir.* 383.

Girimuha—a mountain

Girimuha was situated on the bank of the river Vatthagā which flowed between Kosambī and Ujjeṇī.[240] (see also Vatthagā).

Its exact location is not known.

Girinayara—a city

This town was located near the mountain Ujjenta and hence was called Girinagara [241]

Girinagara or Girinar is identified with modern Junagadh, which lay near the mountain Ujjayanta.[242] It is also called Raivataka

Giriphulliya—a city

Giriphulliya is mentioned in the *Pinda Niryukti*.[243]

It is not identifiable

(1) *Gobbaragāma—a village*

Gobbaragāma was located in Magadha between Rāyagiha and Campā [244] It was frequented by Mahāvīra.[245]

Its exact situation is not known.

(2) *Gobbaragāma—a village*

This village was situated near the city of Vaidisa.[246]

Its exact situation is not known

Gobhūmi

It was so called because the cows used to graze here. This place was frequented by Mahāvīra who arrived here from Unnāya and proceeded to Rāyagiha [247] Paśubhūmi is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā. 27·8) and may be identified with Gomoh

Golla—a country

The country of Golla is referred to in Jain texts in several places. It is said that the month of *caitra* was very cold in this country and hence the Jain monks were allowed to wear two garments, one under and one

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240 *Ā.a Nir* 1282
241 *Anu sū* 130, p 137, also *Ācā. cū* pp 339, 359
242 *G E B*, p 58.
243 461, p. 133
244 *Āva. cū.*, p 297, *Āva. Nir* 644.
245 *Āva cū*, p. 469.
246 *Bṛh Bhā.* 6 6096.
247 See Supra, p. 259; *Āva. Tī.* p. 284a.

upper.[248] The murder of any human being was as much condemned here as the slaying of a Brāhmana.[249] A concoction was prepared in this country from dried mango-chips and was used as a drink *Virālıyā*, a vegetable root, was known here as *vallı*,[250] and *pālaga* as *sāga*[251] Golla was also noted for *ankakareluya* and other vegetables[252]

It may be identified with Goli situated on the Gallaru, a tributary of the river Kistna in Guntur district. Thıs was an important place in ancient India and here the inscriptions of the Iksvākus were recently dıscovered.[253] The mention of Golla and Golālcārya in the Sravanabelagolā inscriptions also testifies that this country was situated in South.[254]

Gopālagıri—a mountain

This mountain is mentioned along with Citrakūta (see Citrakūta) The *Caturvımsatiprabandha* mentions one Gopālgiri in Kānyakubja.[255] It is not identifiable

Goragıri—a mountain

Under the spring of this mountain an ıdol of Siva is mentioned[256] Goratha Hıll is a small isolated hill about five or six miles to the west of the valley of old Rājagrha.[257]

Goyāvarī—a river

Paitthāna was situated on the bank of this river[258]

Godāvarī ıs consıdered to be one of the holiest rivers in Southern India and had ıts source in Brahmagiri, situated on the side of a village called Tryambak which is twenty mıles from Nasik.[259]

Guḍasatthanayara—a city

This city is referred to in the *Āvasyaka Cūrnī*.[260] This city was situated not far from Broach.[261]

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248 *Ācā cū* p. 274
249 *Sūya. cū* p. 357.
250 *Ācā. cū* , p. 340
251 *Brh Bhā Vısesa cūrnı*, 1 2094.
252 *Ācā cū* , p 341.
253 *Bulletın of the Madras Government Museum*, Vol. I, pt I p. 1, by T. N. Ramchandran
254 Jaın *Śılālekha Sangraha* pp 26, 59, 73 etc., Bombay, 1928, by Prof. Hıralal
255 9, p. 57
256 *Nısı cū* , p. 18 (MSS)
257 *G. D* , p 71.
258 *Brh. Bhā* 6 6244 ff.
259 *G. E. B* , p 67.
260 p 542.
261 *Prabhāvakacarıta*, p 34.

Guttha

In *guttha* (cow-pen) Cāṇakya is said to have been burnt to death by Subandhu.[262]

According to the *Bṛhatkathākośa*, this cow-pen was situated in Mahākrauñcapura which lay to the west of the forest, Dakṣiṇāpatha.[263]

Its exact location is not known.

Hāladāma (?)

Hāladāma is mentioned as a land of heat (*ātavaṇabhūmi*.)[264]

Hala is a town in the Hyderabad district, Sind.[265] Are they identical?

Haliddugа or *Haledduyā—a village*

Mahāvīra arrived here from Sāvatthī and proceeded to Naṅgalā.[266]

Its exact situation is not known.

Hatthidīṇa or *Hatthijāma—a forest*

This forest was located to the north-west of Sesadaviyā, a water-shed, which lay to the north-west of Nālandā Lord Goyama is stated to have composed here a chapter known as Nālandaijja.[267]

Its exact location is not known.

Hatthikappa or *Hatthakappa—a city*

This town was visited by five Pāṇḍavas.[268] Another reference to Hatthikappa is made in the commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana*. When Bāravaī was burnt Rāma and Kaṇha passed through Suraṭṭha and reached the outskirts of Hatthikappa[269]

Hatthakappa is identified with Hāthab near Bhavnagar in Gujerat. In the Vallabhi Grants (588 A D.) of Dharmasena I, it is called Hastavapra Devavijaya in his *Pāṇḍavacarita* mentions that the mountain Raivataka was at a distance of twelve *yojanas* from Hastikalpa.[270]

Hatthināura—a city

Hatthināura was situated in Kuru or Kurujāṅgala and was included among the ten metropolises of ancient India.

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262 *Bhatta*, 162, p 30
263 143. 76f.
264 *Ācā cū*, p 317
265 *Sind Gazetteer*, p 506.
266 See Supra, p. 258.
267 *Sūya Sū* II., 7·70, *Thā. Ṭī* 9·3, p 433a.
268 *Nāyā*, 16, p 199 f.
269 2, p 39 a
270 *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Mc Crindle, Cal., 1927, p. 160; also Bechardas, *Bhagavān Mahāvīra nī Dharmakathāo*, p. 244.

It is said that Usabha received his first alms in Hatthināura.[271] Hatthināpura was frequented by Mahāvīra, who is said to have ordained king Siva[272] here (see also Gayaura).

It is identified with an old town in Mawana Tahsil in Meerut.[273]

Hatthisīsa—a city

Hatthisīsa was a centre of trade and a number of sea-going merchants of this town are mentioned to have started for Kāliyadīva for trade.[274] This town was visited by Mahāvīra, who arrived here from Malaya and proceeded to Tosalī [275]

Its exact situation is not known

Hemapura—a city

The city was known for the celebration of the festival of Indra.[276] Its situation is unknown.

Himavanta—a mountain

It is mentioned as an abode of the sage, Phalāhāra [277]

Himavanta is mentioned as *pabbatarāja* in Pali literature The *Milinda-pañha* (p. 111) states that five hundred rivers issued forth from the Himavanta. It is the famous range of mountains to the north of India so frequently mentioned in Indian literature.

Himavantakūḍa

It is said that king Pavvaya was ruling at this place.[278]

Its exact location is unknown.

Hindugadesa—India

It is stated that Kālaka ācārya proceeded to Pārasakūla from Hindugadesa and returned with ninety six kings.[279] This country is identified with India.

Ikkhāgabhūmi—a city

Ikkhāgabhūmi was another name of Ayodhyā. It was the birthplace of the first *Titthayara.*[280]

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271 *Āva. Nir.* 323.
272 *Bhag* 11·9, *Thā Ti.* 8 621. Also *Ṭhā.* 9·691.
273 *G.A G I* p. 702
274 *Nāyā* 17, p. 201.
275 See Supra, p 260.
276 *Bṛh Bhā* 4 5153.
277 *Ibid*, Pī. 786.
278 *Uttarā Ṭī* 3, p. 57 a.
279 *Āvaśī*, *cū.* 10, p 571 f, *Vya. Bhā.* 10·5, p. 94.
280 *Āva. Nir.* 382.

Ilāvaddha—a city

Ilāvaddha was situated on the bank of the Beṇṇā.[281]

However, in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, Ilāvaddha is said to have been situated in Tāmalitti on the bank of the Ganges.[282]

Illā—a country

It is said that this country was visited by Usabha (see Aḍamba).

It may be the same as Allaka of the Buddhists in the district of Aurangabad in the Hyderabad State.[283]

Indapura—a city

King Indadatta was the ruler of this city.[284]

Indapura may be identified with Indore, 8 miles from Anupshahar in the district of Bulandshahar.[285]

Isitalāga—a tank

This tank was situated in Selapura in the country of Tosali. This is said to have been built by Isivāla, a *vānamantara* god.[286] It is said that people celebrated here a feast for eight days.[287]

Isitāla or Isivāla is referred to in the Hāthigumphā Inscriptions of Khāravela.[288]

Jambhiyagāma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra travelled here from Campā and proceeded to Meṇḍhiyagāma at another time the Teacher arrived here from Majjhima Pāvā and attained Kevalihood under the sāla tree on the northern bank of the river Ujjuvālikā.[289]

Muni Kalyan Vijaya identifies it with Jambhigaon near the river Damodar in the Hazaribagh district,[290] but it must be located somewhere near modern Pāvāpurī to the east of Bihar town in Bihar.

281 *Āva cū.*, p 454
282 PP 215 357
283 *Buddhacaryā*, p 373
284 *Vivā*. 10 p 57. *Āva Nir* 1286.
285 According to the *Vava.* p 237, Kannakujja was another name of Indapura; cf. *Bṛhatkathākośa* 59 70 ff, cf also *Āva cū* II, p. 193 where Indapura is given another name for Mahurā
286 *Bṛh. Bhā* 3 4223
287 *Ibid* 1 3150
288 Prof B. M. Barua's article "Hāthigumphā Inscriptions of Khāravela," p. 474 ff. *I. H. Q.* 1935. The word *Isitāla taḍāga* is wrongly translated by scholars.
289 See Supra, p 201.
290 *S B.M* pp. 370, 357.

Jambusaṇḍa—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kadalisamāgama and proceeded to Tambāya.[291]

Its location is unknown.

Jaṅgala or Kurujaṅgala—a kingdom

This country was counted among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Ahicchattā as its metropolis (see Ahicchattā).

Kurujangala was the eastern part of the teritory of the Kurus and appears to have comprised the tract between the Ganges and the north Pañcāla.[292]

Jauṇā—a river

Jaunā was one of the five great rivers, and a tributary of the Ganges[293]

It is the modern Jumna, having its source in the Bhandarpuccha range in the Himalayas.[294]

Jaunānaidīva—an island

It is mentioned that the sage Pārāsara lived here in a hermitage located outside Soriyanagara.[295] Yamunādvīpa is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 64.27).

Its exact location is unknown.

Jaunāvaṅka—a city

Jaunāvanka is referred to in the *saṁthara*.[296] However, in the *Āvasyaka Niryukti* Jaunāvanka is described as a garden of Mahurā This garden was so called because it was curved (*vanka*) by the water of the Jauṇā.[297]

Javana, Jona or Yavana—a country

Javana was counted among the non-Āryan countries. The maid-servants known as Javaṇīs were brought from here Javana is described as a beautiful land and a treasure-house of excellent gems, gold and jewels.[298] After crossing the river Sindhu, Bharata is said to have visited this country (see also Ānga ; Adamba ; Dīva)

According to the *Mahāvamsa* (xxix·39), its chief city was Alasanda, identified with Alexandria near Kabul.[299]

291 See Supra, p. 258.
292 Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 393.
293 See Supra, p. 264.
294 *G D*, p 215.
295 *Uttarā. Ṭī*, 2, p. 36a.
296 61, p 56 a.
297 1277, cf also *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā* 1554; *Bṛhatkathākośa*, 141·45 f.
298 *Āva. cū*, p. 191.
299 *C.A.G.I.*, p. 693 f; *G E.B.* p. 54.

Jiṇṇapura—a city

It was situated near Rāyagiha.[300]
Its exact location is not known.

Kaccha—a country

Kaccha is described as a plain and beautiful land which was conquered by Bharata (see Aṅga) In Kaccha the Jain monks were allowed to stay along with the householders.[301]
It is identified with modern Cutch.[302]

Kāttāra

Kāttāra was known for its ancient shrines.[303]
Its situation is unknown

Kākandī, Kāgandī or Kāmandī—a city

Kākandī was the birthplace of the ninth *Titthayara.*[304] Mahāvīra is said to have visited this place[305] The *Bhagavatī* mentions thirty three *samaṇovāsagā* in Kākandī[306] Kākandiyā is described as a *sākhā* of the Jain *śramaṇas* in the *Kalpasūtra.*[307]
Kākandī is identified with Kākan in the Monghyr district.[308]

Kalambuka Sannivesa—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Corāya Sannivesa and proceeded to Lāḍha[309]
Its location cannot be identified

Kālañjara—a mountain

This mountain was located between the Ganges and the Viñjha mountains.[310] Kālañjara is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 83·56).
It is identified with Kalinjar, a celebrated hill fort in the Banda district, Bundelkhand.[311]

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300 *Ā a cū* p. 465.
301 *Bṛh Bhā* I 1239, *Viśesacūrṇi*
302 *G. D.*, p. 82.
303 *Ācā cū* p. 374
304 *Ā.a. Nir* 382.
305 *Anuttara*, p 61 ; *Anta*, p 39
306 10 4
307 8, p 231 Also *Sam*, 76, p 57a
308 Rahul Sankrityayana, *Bhārtīya Vidyā*, p. 8, July, 1944.
309 See Supra, p. 258.
310 *Ā.a cū*, p. 461, *Uttarā Ṭī.* 13, p 185.
311 *G. D*, p 84.

Kālaya—a settlement

Kālaya Sannivesa was situated near Vāniyagāma to its north-east.[312] Mahāvīra arrived here from Campā and proceeded to Pattakālaya.[313]

Its exact location is not known.

Kalinga—a kingdom

Kalinga is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Kañcanapura as its metropolis. Kalinga is mentioned with Dravida and Vanga.[314]

In the Hāthigumphā Inscriptions we are told that king Khāravela brought back to his realm from Anga-Magadha the throne of Jina which had been carried from Kalinga by king Nanda According to the *Mahābhārata*, the ancient Kalinga seems to have comprised modern Orissa to the south of Vaitaranī and the sea-coast southward as far as Vizagapattam, and its capital was Rājapura.[315]

Kāliyadīva—an island

Kāliyadīva was noted for its horses (see Hatthisīsa).

It is not identified.

Kamboya—a country

Kamboya was a non-Āryan country and was noted for its fine horses which excelled all other horses in speed, and no noise could frighten them.[316]

In the commentary on the *Petavatthu* (p 113), Dvārakā or Darwaz occurs with Kamboja. Kamboja is identified with the Badakshān and the Ghālchā speaking part of the Pamir, a territory to the north of Kash-

Kāmiyasara—a lake

It is stated that at the bank of this lake there stood a wonderful tree known as vañjularukkha.[318]

Kāmyakavana is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 5·3); it was situated in Kurukshetra.[319]

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312 *Āva. Ṭī*, p. 456.
313 See Supra, p. 258.
314 *Jambu Ṭī*, 20, p 107.
315 *G E B*, p 64
316 *Uttarā Sū*, 11 16, *Rāya. Sū* 160. Also see *Mahābhā*, VI., 90·3; VII, 23 24; com. on the *Dīgh*, I, p. 124.
317 Jayachand Vidyalankar, *Bharat Bhūmi aur uske Niwāsī*, Agra, V S, 1987, p 300, also Dr Motichand's article on Geographical and Economic Studies in the *Mahābhārata*, *J. U P S*, Vol XVI, part II, pp. 38 ff
318 *Anu. Ṭī.*, Haribhadra, p. 11, also see *Mārkandeya*, p 28.
319 *G. D.*, p. 88.

Kampillapura—a city

Kampillapura is included among the ten metropolises of India. It was a capital city of Pañcāla.

Kampillapura lay on the bank of the Ganges[320] and was the birthplace of the thirteenth *Titthayara*.[321] Kampillapura is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra[322] as well as the mendicant Ammaḍa.[323] The *sayamvara* of Dovaī was held in this city.[324]

According to the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*, the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Kampillapura, where king Dummuha ruled. It is identified with modern Kampil in the Farrukhabad district.[325]

Kaṇayagiri—a mountain

This mountain was situated in Pukkharadīva,[326] a mythical region. It is not identified.

Kaṇagapura—a city

It is said that this city was visited by Mahāvīra.[327] Its location is not identified.

Kānanadīva—an island

Kānanadīva is quoted as an example of *jalapattana* where goods were carried by water.[328] Paddy was cultivated here on boats.[329] It is not identified.

Kañcaṇaura—a city

Kañcaṇaura was the metropolis of Kaliṅga which was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. Kañcanaura is referred to in the *Ogha Niryukti Bhāsya*[330]

The *Vasudevahindī* refers to some merchants of Kañcaṇapur who returned from Lankādvīpa with jewels.[331]

Kāñcanaura is identified with modern Bhuvaneshwar.[332]

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320 *Ovā. sū*, 39.
321 *Āva. Nir.* 383.
322 *Uvā.*, 6, p. 43.
323 *Ovā. Sū*, 40.
324 *Nāyā*, 8, p. 178.
325 *G.E.B*, p 18.
326 *Uttarā. Tī*, p. 286 a.
327 *Vivā.* II, 6, p. 64-1.
328 *Ācā cū*, p. 281.
329 *Brh Bhā* Vṛ. 1·1239.
330 30, p. 20 a.
331 p 111
332 *S.B.M.*, p. 361. See also *P.H.A.I.*, p. 75.

Kāñcīpurī—a city

Kāñcīpuri was located in Draviḍa.[333]
It is same as Canjeevaram on the Palar river.[334]

Kaṇḍacchariu—a village

This village is mentioned in the *Vyavahāra Bhāsya.*[335]
It is not identified.

Kaṇhā—a river

This river flowed in the country of Ābhīra (see Acalapura)
The rivers Kanhā and Beṇṇā are identified with Kanhan and Wain that unite in the district of Bhandara, and the united stream comes down to meet the Wardha in the district of Chandan.[336]

Kannakujja—a city

Kannakujja is mentioned as another name of Indapura. (see Indapura). Kānyakubja was also known as Gādhipura, Mahodaya, Kusasthala.[337]
It is same as Kanauj situated on the west bank of the Kālindı.[338]

Karṇāṭaka—a country

Karnātaka is referred to along with the countries of Lāta, Damila, etc. (See Damıla).
Karnāta deṣa included Mysore, Coorg and part of the ceded districts. The kingdom of Vijayanagar was also called Karṇāta.[339]

Kaseru—a river

It was a well-known river but its peculiar feature was that it never contained water.[340]
Its situation cannot be known.

Kāsī—a kingdom

Kāsī is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Vārāṇasī as its capital. Kāṣī is also included among the sixteen

333 *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 3·3892.
334 *C.A G I*, p.628.
335 7·154.
336 *P B I*, p. 378.
337 *Abhıdhāna*, IV, 39, 40.
338 *G. D*, p. 89.
339 *Ibid*, p. 94.
340 *Vya. Bhā. Ṭī.*, 3. 58.

Janapadas. The kingdom of Kāsī and Kosala were known for their eighteen confederate kings [341]

It is identified with the Benares commissionary.[342]

Kāya or *Kāka—a country*

Kāka is mentioned as among the non Āryan countries. It was noted for its variety of cloth [343]

The Kākas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, where they are associated with the Vidarbhas, who are a well-known people occupying tracts of territory what is now known as the Central Provinces The territory of the Kākas is sometimes identified with Kākapur near Bithur, while Smith suggests an identification with Kākanāda near Sanci.[344]

Kayalisamāgama or *Kayaligāma—a village*

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Bhaddiyā and proceeded to Jambusaṇḍa.[345]

Its exact location is not known

Kayambarī—a cave

It is mentioned that this cave was located on the outskirts of the city of Bāravaī [346]

Kayangalā—a city

Kayangalā was visited by Mahāvīra, who is said to have arrived from Pitthicampā and proceeded to Sāvatthi [347]

Kajangala or Kayangala is identified with Kankajol in Santhal Pargana in Bihar.[348]

Kekaya—a kingdom

One half of this country was considered among the non-Āryan countries Probably a portion of this country did not come under the influence of Jainism and hence it was counted among the non-Āryan countries This Kekaya was situated at the base of Nepal, to the north-east of Srāvastī, and is different from Kekaya in the North.[349]

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341 *Niryā* 1
342 *Majjhima*, p 275, Rahul Sankrityayan
343 *Nisī Cū*, 7, p 467
344 Law, *Tribes*, etc, p 356
345 See Supra, p 258
346 *Uttarā Tī*, 2, p 37 a.
347 See Supra, p 258, see also *Bhag* 2·1.
348 *Vinayapiṭaka*, p 213 n, Rahul Sankrityayan.
349 *S M B*, p 364.

Ketāya—a city

It is mentioned in the *Sūyagaḍaṅga cūrṇi.*[350]
Its location cannot be known.

Keyaiaddha—a kingdom

Half of this kingdom was included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Seyaviyā as its capital.[351]
(See supra, p 256 for identification).

Keyāra—a holy place

Keyāra is mentioned as an unholy place in Jain literature.[352] Kedāra is mentioned as a holy place in the *Mahābhārata* (III 81·72). Kedāra is identified with Kedārnāth situated on the southern side of the junction of the Mandākinī and the Dūdhagangā, in the district of Garhwal, United Provinces.[353]

Khabbada

Khabbaḍiyā or Dāsī Khabbadiyā is mentioned as a *śākhā* of the Jain *śramaṇas* in the *Kalpasūtra.*[354]
Khabbadiyā may be associated with Kharvata in western Bengal.[355]

Khahaṇagiri (?Khandagiri)—a mountain

This mountain was known for its caves (*lena*).[356]
It may be identified with well-known Khandgiri Hill in the Puri district in Orissa.

Khaṇḍappavāya—a cave

This cave is said to have been located in Veyaḍḍha It is said that the universal king Sanakkumāra conquered Magaha, Varadāma, Pabhāsa, Sindhu, Khandappavāya and other places, and thus gaining victory over the whole of Bharaha, returned to Gayapura.[357]
It is not identified

Khattiyakundaggāma or *Kundapura—a town*

Kunḍaggāma or Kundapura had two divisions viz. Khattiyakunḍaggāma and Māhanakundaggāma ; one was ruled over by Khattiyas

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350 p 414
351 See *Rāya*, sū 142, p 273
352 *Nisī cū*, 11 p 685
353 *G D*, p 97 f
354 8, p 227 a
355 R C Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol I, Dacca, 1943, p 410 n, also Prabodh Chandra Sen, *I H Q*, Vol VIII, pp 530 ff, also Pramode Lal Paul, *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, p 525
356 *Ācā cū*, p 350
357 *Uttarā Ṭī*, 18, p. 240, also see *T. S. P.* p. 174.

and the other by Māhanas. Kuṇḍapura was the birthplace of Mahāvīra [358] He took to the ascetic life in the garden of Nāyasaṇḍa and proceeded to Kumāragāma

It is identified with modern Basukund which was a suburb of ancient Vaiśāli [359]

Kheḍatthāma or *Kheḍagatthāma—a city*

It is said that this town was located on the bank of the Ullugā, on the other bank was Ullugātīra [360]

Its situation is not identified.

(1) *Khiipaitthiya—a city*

Khiipaitthiya is said to have been situated in Avaravideha; a merchant of this town left for Vasantapura for trade.[361] It is said that Khiipaitthiya was visited by Karakandu, Dummuha, Nami and Naggai, the four *Pratyekabuddhas*.[362]

It is a mythical region.

(2) *Khiipaitthiya—a city*

During the reign of king Jiyasattu, the town is said to have been raided by the *mlecchas* It is mentioned that when the buildings of Khiipaitthiya were in ruins, Canagapura was founded in its place.[363] (see also Canagapura) According to another tradition, it was another name for Poyanapura [364]

Kīraddaga—a country

Kīraddaga is mentioned along with Marahatta, Damila, Kuḍukka, Golla and Sindhu [365]

Kirī is mentioned as a script in the *Visesāvasyaka Bhāsya* (5.464).

The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*[366] also refers to Kīra which is identified with the Kangra district in the Punjab by Pandit Jayachand Vidyalankar.[367]

Kikkindhapura—a city

It is mentioned in the commentary of the *Paṇhavāgaraṇa*.[368]

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358 *Āva cū*, p 243, *Āva Nir* 384, also *Bhag* 9. 33.
359 G D, p 107, Also see *Pracīna tīrthamālā*, Pt. I, Intro., p. 24.
360 *Uttarā Tī* 3, p 71 a
361 *Āva cū*, p 131
362 *Uttarā cū*, 9 p 179
363 *Piṇḍa Nir Tī* 80, p 30; *Āva Nir*. 1318; *Āva cū*., II, p. 158; *Gacch. vṛ*. p. 115 a.
364 *Āva cū*, p 455, *T S P*, p 7, *Vasu*., p. 20.
365 *Nisī cū*, II, 681.
366 14 29
367 *Bhārat Bhūmi*, p. 347
368 4, p 88 a. Also see *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 9 ff.

Kiṣkindhā is identified with Khukhundo, twenty five *kos* to the east of Gorakhpur.[369]

Koccha—a kingdom

It is mentioned as one of the sixteen *Janapadas* in the *Bhagavatī*. It may be identified with Kausikī Kaccha to the east of the river Kauśikī, in Purnea district.[370]

Koḍinna or *Kuṇḍini—a city*

It is said that king Ruppi ruled at thisp lace.[371]

This town was located in Vidarbha[372]

It is identified with modern Kaudinyapur on the banks of the Wardha in the Chandur Tāluka of Amraoti.[373]

Koḍivarisa—a city

Kodivarisa was the metropolis of Lādha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries King Cilāya of this place is said to have joined the ascetic order under Mahāvīra in Sāketa.[374] Kodivarisiyā is mentioned as one of the *śākhās* of the Jain *sramanas* in the *Kalpasūtra*[375]

Kotivarsa is mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions It is identified with Bangarh, a village about eighteen miles in Dinajpur district.[376]

Kollāgpura or *Kollaira—a city*

It is said that this town was visited by a famine.[377] Kullaira is mentioned in the *Maranasamāhi*[378] (Compare also Kullaura).

This town is described in the *Vasudevahindī*.[379] There was a water shelter (*pavā*) at this place where food and drink was distributed free The city had a row of palaces and was surrounded by walls[380]

It may be identified with Kullapākapura or Kulpāk near Secunderabad in the Nizam State.

(1) *Kollāka* or *Kollāyagāma—a settlement*

Kollāka Sannivesa was located to the north-east of Vāniyagāma.[381]

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369 *District Gaz of Gorakhpur*, p. 266 f
370 *G D*, p. 97
371 *Nāyā* 16, p 178 ; *Panha Ti*, 4, p. 87 a.
372 *Vasu*, p. 80.
373 *P H A* I, p 74
374 *Āva Nir*. 1305.
375 8, p 227 a
376 R C Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol I p 9
377 *Pinda. Nir*, 427, p. 125 ; *Āva. cū.*, II, p. 35.
378 p 491.
379 p 355.
380 *Ibid.*, p. 357.
381 *Uvā.* 1, p. 4.

It is said that Mahāvīra received his first alms in Kollāka[382]; he arrived here from Kammārgāma and proceeded to Morāga Sannivesa[383] Kollāka was visited by Indabhūi Goyama, the first Ganadhara of Mahāvīra [384]

It is identified with Kolhuā, 3 miles to the north-west of Basārh in Muzaffarpur.

(2) *Kollāka—a settlement*

Kollāka Sannivesa was located near Nālandā.[385] Mahāvīra is said to have arrived here from Nālandā and proceeded to Suvannakhalaya.[386]

Its exact location is not known.

Komalā

Khemilijjiyā or Khomalijjiyā is mentioned as a *śākhā* of the Jain *śramanas* in the *Kalpasūtra*.[387]

Khomalijjiyā is a Prakrit form of Komaliyā, which comes from the city of Komalā, which is identified with modern Comillah in Chittagong in Bengal.

Koṅkana—a country

Koṅkana was a non-Āryan country, and is cited as an example of *āsandīna dīva* which did not overflow with periodical sea-tides [388]

There was excessive rainfall in this country and so a Jain monk was allowed to carry an umbrella [389] During famine or even otherwise people were in the habit of eating flesh in this country and were fond of fruits, flowers[390] and rice-gruel[391] (*pejjā*) Konkana was noted for the festival known as *gunjanna* which was celebrated here in the evenings [392] Konkana is mentioned along with Sindhu and Tāmalitti which were known for their troublesome mosquitoes [393] There was a big forest round about this country [394] It is said that the stones of the rivers of Konkana were very sharp and hurt the feet of the people [395]

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382 *Āva. Nir.*, 325
383 See Supra, p 257.
384 *Uvā*, p. 18.
385 *Bhag.* 15.
386 See Supra, p. 258.
387 8, p. 231.
388 *Uttarā cū* p 115.
389 *Ācā. cū* p 366.
390 *Brh Bhā.* Vṛ 1·1239.
391 *Das. cū.* p 316.
392 *Brh Bhā* Vṛ. 1 2855.
393 *Sūya Tī.* 3. 1. 12.
394 *Nisī cū.* Pī. p. 90.
395 *Ibid.*, 12, p. 827.

Konkaṇa is the country between the Western Ghats and the sea, from about Bombay southward to Goa.[396]

Kosalā or Kosalapura—a kingdom

Kosalā is included among the tewnty five and a half Āryan countries with Aojjhā or Sāketa as its capital. Kosalā is also included among the sixteen *Janapadas* in the *Bhagavatī.*

In the *Āvasyaka cūrṇi*, Kosala and Aojjhā are described as identical[397] It is said that Usabha, who is also called Kosaliya, passing through the capital of Vinītā, reached the Madhyadeśa i.e the middle of Kosala.[398] Kosalapura was the birthplace of the fifth *Titthayara*[399]. Like Dasapura and Ujjeṇī, Kosala was known for the image of the living lord.[400]

The people of Kosala were fond of wine (*sovīra*) and rice (*kūra*).[401] They were characterised as wicked without any exception.[402]

Kosala lay near Sāvatthī to the north with Sāgeya as its capital.[403]

The capital cities of Kosala were Sāvatthī and Sāketa. The ancient Kosala kingdom was divided into two great divisions, the river Sarayu serving as the wedge between the two; that to the north was called Uttara Kośala, and the one to the south was called Dakṣiṇa Kośala.[404] Kosala roughly corresponds to the modern Oudh.[405]

Kosamba—a forest

This forest lay to the south of Hatthikappa (see Hatthikappa). It is said that Kaṇha Vāsudeva was shot dead here by the arrow of Jarākumāra. Baladeva is said to have proceeded to the mountain Tungiya from here.[406]

Its exact site is not known.

Kosambī—a city

Kosambī was the capital city of Vaccha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It was one of the ten capitals mentioned in the *Ṭhāṇāṅga.*

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396 *C. A. G.*, I, p. 745.
397 p. 337. For the etymological meaning of the word see *Āva. Ṭī.* p. 214; also see the com. on the *Sutta Nipāta*, II, p. 400 f.
398 *Jambu. sū.*, 3. 70.
399 *Āva. Nir.* 382.
400 *Bṛh. Bhā.* Vṛ. 5.5824.
401 *Piṇḍa. Nir.* 619, p. 167.
402 *Vya. Bhā.* 7. 126.
403 *Vasu.* p. 283.
404 *G. E. B.* p. 4 ff.
405 *P. H. A. I.*, p. 64.
406 *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 2, p. 40 ff; *Nisī. cū.*, 8·2 (MSS)

Kosambī lay on the bank of the river Jumna. Mahāvīra is said to have allowed his monks to move up to Kosambī to the south of Sāketa.[407]

It is said that Kosambī was the birthplace of the sixth *Titthayara*,[408] and was visited by Pāsa,[409] Ajja Suhatthi and Ajja Mahāgiri.[410] Kosambī was visited by Mahāvīra frequently.[411]

Kosambī is identical with modern Kosam, an old village on the Jumna, thirty miles south-west of Allahabad.[412]

Kosiyā or *Kosī*—*a river*

Kosiyā was one of five great tributaries of the Ganges.[413]

The river Kosikī is referred to in the Jātakas as a branch of the Ganges. It is identical with the river Kusi.[414]

Koṭṭhagāma— a village

This village was situated not very far from Kampillapura.[415]

Its exact situation is not known.

Koyagaḍa or *Kūpakaṭa*

It is mentioned that the twenty third *Titthayara* received his first alms at this place.[416]

It is not identified.

Kudukka—a country

Kudukka was a non-Āryan country and was opened for the preachings of the Jain monks by Samprati (see Andha). It seems that later on *Kudukka* became a centre of the Jain monks; mention is made of Kuḍukka ācārya.[417] Milk was called *pīlu* in this country[418] and like Koṅkana rice-gruel was a common food here (see Konkaṇa).

It may be identified with Coorg (Kodagu) a territory in South India which is bounded along its entire western frontier by the mountain chain of the Western Ghats.[419]

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407 See Supra, p. 250
408 *Āva. Nir.* 382.
409 *Nāyā* II, 10, p 230.
410 *Nisī. cū*, 5, p. 437.
411 See Supra, pp. 260.
412 *C. A G. I*, p. 709, also see Law, *Kauśāmbi in Ancient Literature.*
413 See Supra P. 264.
414 *G. E. B.* p 37.
415 *Uttarā. Ṭī*, 13, p. 188a.
416 *Āva Nir.*, 325.
417 *Vya. Bhā. Vṛ.* 4 283; 1, p. 121a.
418 *Āva. cū.*, p 27.
419 *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 28.

Kullaira—a city

It was situated not far from Pāḍaliputta.[420]
Its exact situation is not known

Kumāra or *Kummāragāma—a village*

It is said that Mahāvira arrived here from Kundapura and proceeded to Kollāka Sannivesa [421]
Its exact location is not known.

Kumāra or *Kumārāya*—a *settlement*

It is said that Mahāvira reached here from Pattālaya and proceeded to Corāya Sannivesa.[422]
Its exact location is not known.

Kumbhārakaḍa—a city

Same as Danḍakāranna. (See Dandakāraṇna).

Kumbhārapakkheva—a river-port (pattana)

Kumbhārapakkheva was another name for Viibhaya. (see Viibhaya). The king Udāyana, who had joined the ascetic order, sojourned here in a potter's house It is said that he was poisoned by his sister's son and after he died, the gods threw a shower of dust which covered the whole city excepting the potter's house and hence this city came to be known as Kumbhārpakkheva This town was situated in Sinavalli.[423]

Viibhaya may be identified with Bhera on the left bank of the river Jhelum in the district of Shahapur in the Punjab In Bhera Tahsil near the village of Vajjhi a most conspicuous mound is found which tells of a bygone age of great prosperity Bhera is the largest and most thriving commercial town in the district.[424]

Kummagāma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Siddhatthapura.[425]
Its exact site is not known.

420 *Sam*. 71, p. 57 a.
421 See Supra, p 257.
422 See Supra, p. 258.
423 *Āva. cū*, II, p. 37.
424 *Imp. Gaz*. Vol. II, p. 385.
425 See Supra, p. 260.

Kunāla—a kingdom

Kunāla is included among the twenty five and a half countries with Sāvatthī as capital Mahāvīra allowed the Jain monks to move upto Kunāla to the north of Sākera[426] The following story is mentioned about the destruction of Kunāla Once two hermits, named Karaḍa and Ukkarada, were sojourning in Kunāla in the shrine of Niddhamana *Jakkha* Owing to their stay there, there were no rains in the country, although it was raining everywhere else Some people blamed the holy men and asked them to quit The hermits flew into a passion The first said "Rain cloud on Kunāla" The second said "For full fifteen days" The first said With drops as large as clubs" The second said "As by day, so also by night" Owing to the curse of the hermits, the heavens poured down for fifteen days and the whole country was flooded. It is stated that three years after this incident both hermits died at Sākera and after thirteen years Mahāvīra attained *Kavala*hood.[427]

Kunāla is the same as Uttara Kosala (see Kosala).

Kuṇālanayara—a city

Same as Ujjenī (See Ujjeṇī)

Kuṇālanayarī—a city

Same as Sāvatthī.

Kunḍaggāma—a city

Same as Khattiyakundaggāma or Kunḍapura.

Kunḍaka—a settlement

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Ālabhiyā and proceeded to Maddanā.[428]

Its exact situation is not known.

Kunḍapura—a city

Same as Kunḍaggāma or Khattiyakundaggāma.

Kunḍinī—a city

Same as Kodinna (See Kodinna).

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426 See Supra, p 250

427 *Ā.a cū.*, p 601; *Āva. Tī.*, (Hari.), p. 465; *Āva. Ṭī.*, p. 567, also Tawney's *Kathākosa*, p 6 f.

428 See Supra, p. 259.

Kuñjarāvatta—a mountain

According to the tradition, when Vairasāmi died at this place, the Indra went round the mountain on his elephant and since then this place came to be known as Kuñjarāvatta.[429]

It is not identifiable.

Kuru or *Kurujāṅgala—a kingdom*

Kuru was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Gayapura as its capital.

The ancient Kuru country may be said to have comprised Kurukshetra or Thaneshwar [430]

Kurukhetta

Kurukhetta is referred to in the commentary of the *Bṛhtkalpa Bhāsya.*[431]

The country is immediately around Thaneshwar between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī rivers is known by the name of Kurukshetra.[432]

Kusaggapura—a city

Kusaggapura is another name for Rājagiha It is said that, after Canagapura was in ruin, people saw an unconquerable ox, and founded Usabhapura. In course of time, Usabhapura also was ruined and seeing a big *kusa* plant, Kussaggapura was founded.[433] (See Rāyagiha).

Hiuen Tsang says that the old capital occupied by Bimbisāra was called Kusāgra. It was afflicted by frequent fires and Bimbisāra, on the advice of his ministers, abandoned it and built the new city on the site of the old country. The city was called Rāyagiha, because Bimbisāra was the first person to occupy it. Pargiter suggests that the old city was called Kuśāgrapura after Kuśāgra, an early king of Magadha.[434]

Kusattā or *Kusāvatta—a kingdom*

This country is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Soriyapura as its capital.

The country around Suryapura in the Agra district was known as Kusaṭṭā (See Soriyapura).

Kusatthala—a city

This town was located in Magadha.[435]

Its exact location is not known.

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429 *Marana* 472 f, 128 a See also *Vasu.*, p 122, *Rāmāyana* IV, 41.
430 *G E B* p 17 f
431 I 1856 ff
432 *C A. G. I*, p. 380.
433 Also see *Vasu*, p 74.
434 *Malalasekara, op. cit*, under "Kusaggapura."
435 *Mahā. Ni.* p. 16.

Kusumapura—a city

Kusumapura was another name for Pāḍaliputta.[436] It is mentioned that once a famine broke out in Kusumapura.[437] The town was visited by Vairasāmī.[438]

Kūviya—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Tambāya and proceeded to Vesāli.[439]

Its exact situation is not known.

Lāḍha or *Rādha—a kingdom*

Kodivarisa was the capital of Lādha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kalambuka Sannivesa and proceeded to Punnakalasa. Lāḍha was divided into Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi.[440]

Lādha or Radha comprises the modern districts of Hooghly, Howrah, Bankura, Burdwan and the east portions of Midnapore.[441]

Lāta—a country

Various customs, etc of this country are recorded in the Jain texts. It is said that the people of this country were known for their deceitful nature (*gunthamāyāvī*).[442]

Corn was cultivated in this country by rains,[443] and there were wells here that contained salt water.[444]

The following words current in this country are recorded: *kūra*[445] (rice), *gaddara*[446] (wool), *jovana*[447] (threshing of corn), *pallaga*[448] (granary), *suphani*[449] (kettle-pen), *avasāvana*[450] (sour gruel), *ikkaḍā*[451] (a variety of grass), *bhatta*[452] (husband's sister), *hali* (a common word used in addressing equals), *kaccha*[453] (an underwear), *khīra*[454] (milk) and *thilli*[455] (a saddle).

436 *Bṛh Bhā*, 3 4123 f
437 *Pinda Bhā*, 44 ff, p. 142 a
438 *Āva Nir*, 769
439 See Supra, p 258.
440 See Supra, p. 258; *Ācā*. 9. 3, p. 281 f, *Ācā. cū.*, p. 318.
441 *C, A G I*, p. 732
442 *Vya. Bhā*, 3. 345.
443 *Bṛh Bhā Vr.*, 1. 1239
444 *Panna*. 1, p 28 a
445 *Bṛh Bhā Pī.*, 57
446 *Nisī. cū*, 3, p 329.
447 *Ogh Nir Bhā Tī.*, 90, p 75
448 *Āva Tī* p. 67 a.
449 *Sūya cū*, p 146
450 *Bṛh Bhā. Vṛ* 1. 3099.
451 *Nisī. cū*, 2, p. 24 (MSS)
452 *Das cū.*, 7, p. 250.
453 *Nisī. cū.*, Pī., p. 46.
454 *Āva. cū*, p. 27.
455 *Bhag. Tī*, 3.4.

According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, Bharuyakaccha was the chief city of Lāta.[456] Lāḷaraṭṭha is identified with the old Lāṭa, kingdom of Gujerat.[457]

Laṅkā—a city

Lankā is referred to in the *Nisītha cūrni*.[458]

According to the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, Rāmaṇa defeated Jaḍāu and having crossed Kikkindhigiri reached Laṅkā.[459] According to the *Trisastisalākāpurusacarita*, in the Lavana ocean there was an island named Rākṣasadvīpa and in its centre lay the mountain called Trikūta. The city of Lankā was situated on the top of this mountain.[460] Lankā is identified with Ceylon.[461]

Lohaggalā—a city

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Bahusālaga and proceeded to Purimatāla[462]

It may be identified with Lohardagā in the Bengal district which forms the central and north-western portion of the Chota Nagpur division.[463]

Maccha—a kingdom

(See Vaccha).

Maddaṇagāma—a village

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kunḍaka and proceeded to the village Bahusālaga.[464]

Its location is unknown.

Magadha—a kingdom

Magadha is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Rāyagiha as its capital. It is also referred to as one of the sixteen *Janapadas*. Magadha is mentioned along with Soratṭhaya and Mālava in the *Uttarādhyayana cūrṇi*.[465]

456 P 88.
457 *G E B.*, p. 58.
458 *Abhidhāna Rājendra Kośa*, under "Laṅkā"
459 P. 243.
460 II, p. 165
461 *G. D*, p. 113.
462 See Supra, p. 259.
463 *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. VIII, p. 475.
464 See Supra, p. 259.
465 p. 22.

Mahāvīra allowed the Jain monks to move upto Magadha to the east of Sāketa [466] Magadha, Pabhāsa and Varadāma are enumerated as holy places (*tittha*) situated in east, west and south-west of Bhāratavarṣa in succession. When Bharata gained complete victory over Bhāratavarṣa,[467] the gods are stated to have brought holy water (*titthodaga*) from Magadha and installed him as a universal monarch [468]

Magadha was the real birthplace of Jain religion and the centre of activities of Mahāvīra, who roamed about in the interior of Magadha and preached his religious doctrines to the people.[469]

The people of Magadha are described as very clever. (see Dakkhiṇāvaha) Magadha roughly corresponds to the modern Patna and Gaya districts in Bihar.[470]

Magahāpura—a city

It is mentioned in the *Āvaśyaka cūrṇi* and[471] the commentary of the *Uttarādhyayana.*[472]

It is same as Rāyagiha.

Mahāghosa—a city

Mahāghosa is referred to in the *Vivāgasuya.*[473]

Its situation is unknown.

Mahāhimavanta—a mountain

This mountain was known for *gosīsa* sandalwood.[474]

It may correspond to the middle valleys of the Himalayan tract.

(1) *Mahākāla—a cemetery*

This cemetery was situated in Bāravai.[475]

(2) *Mahākāla—a shrine*

Mahākāla is described as a shrine (*ceiya*) in Ujjeṇī.[476]

Māhanakuṇḍaggāma or *Māhanakuṇḍapura*—a suburb.

Māhaṇakuṇḍaggāma and Khattiyakuṇḍaggāma were two suburbs of Vesāli (see Khattiyakuṇḍaggāma).

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466 See Supra, p. 250.
467 Also cf *T S. P*, pp. 213-252.
468 *Ṭhā sū*, 3. 142, *Āva cū.*, p 186; *Āva. Nir. Bhā. Dīpikā.*, 110, p. 93 a.
469 *Āva. Nir.*, 488
470 *C. A G I*, p 718 f.
471 P 459.
472 13, p. 192 a. Also see Sorenson, (*Index to the Mahābhā.*, p. 453), *Sutta Nipāta* (5. 1. 38).
473 II, 8, p. 64-1.
474 *Āva Cū*, p 307 f.
475 *Anta.* 3, p. 18.
476 *Āva. Nir.* 1278, *Āva. Cū.*, II, p. 157; also see *Meghadūta* 32.

Mahāpura—a city

It is said that the twelfth *Titthayara* received his first alms at this place.[477] This town is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra.[478]

It cannot be identified.

Mahātavovatīrappabha—a spring

This spring is described as being five hundred *dhanus* in length and was situated in Rāyagiha near the mountain Vebhāra [479]

In Pali literature it is known as Tapodā ; it was a large lake below the Vebhāra mountain outside Rāyagiha [480]

This spring is identified with modern Tapoban at the Rajgir hills [481]

Māhesarī or *Māhesara—a city*

Māhesarī was situated in Dakkhināvaha. It was a prosperous city.[482] Māhessara is mentioned along with Sirimāla and Ujjenī, where people were fond of drinking wine [483]

It is identified with Māhiṣmatī or Mahesh on the right bank of the Nerbada, forty miles to the south of Indore.[484]

Mahī—a river

Mahī is mentioned as one of the five great tributary rivers of the Ganges (see Ādī)

It is identified with Mhye in Saran district, Bihar [485]

Mahirāvaṇa—a river

(see Ḍimbharelaka).

Mahurā or *Uttara Mahurā—a city*

Sūrasena was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Mahurā as its capital. Mahurā is included among the ten capitals of ancient India. It was an important city in Uttarāvaha to which ninety six villages were attached.[486]

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477 *Āva. Nir.*, 324.
478 *Vivā* II, 7, p. 64-1.
479 *Bhag.*, 2. 5
480 See *Vinaya*, III, p 108 ; the com. on the *Dīgha*. I, p 35.
481 *C. A G. I*, p 529 , also see Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 253 f.
482 *Āva. Ṭī*, p 249 a.
483 *Ācā Cū.*, 2 1, p 333.
484 *G. D*, pp. 119, 120.
485 *C. A. G. I*, p. 719.
486 *Bṛh. Bhā*. 1. 1774 f.

Mahurā is described as a very ancient city in the Jain texts[487] Mention is made of a jewelled *thūbha* in Mahurā, over which there arose a quarrel between Jains and Buddhists, resulting in the defeat of the latter.[488]

Mahurā had been a great centre of activities of the Jains in ancient days. It is said that the citizens of Mahurā and the ninety six villages adjoining it, installed the Jain idols in their houses and the court-yards.[489]

It is mentioned that Mahurā was visited by Mahāvīra,[490] Ajja Mangu[491] and Ajja Rakkhiya [492] Mahurā is described as a centre of heretical ascetics (*pākhaṇḍigabbha*) [493]

Mahurā was an emporium of trade and people lived here on trade and not on agriculture [494] It is quoted as an example of *thalapaṭṭana* where goods were carried by land route.[495]

In Pali literature five disadvantages are described in Madhurā The ground was uneven, there was much dust, there were fierce dogs, there were bestial *yakkhas* and alms were obtained with difficulty. Buddha viewed the city with disfavour [496]

Mahurā is identified with Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the present town of Mathura or Muttra.[497]

Majjhadesa—Middle Country

Majjhimadesa is mentioned in the *Nāyādhammakahā*.[498] According to Jains, the country of Kosala was termed as Madhyadesa.[499]

According to the Purānas, Ayodhā was the capital of Madhyadesa.[500]

Majjhamiyā—a city.

Majjhamiyā is mentioned in the *Vivāgasuya*.[501] Majjhimillā is also mentioned a *sākhā* in the *Kalpasūtra*.[502]

It is identified with Nagarī near Chittor in southern Rajputana.[503]

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487 *Uttarā Cū*, p 82
488 *Vya Bhā* 5 27 f, also cf *Jambuswāmicarita* of Rājamalla, ed. by Jagdishchandra Jain, Bombay, 1936, where more than five hundred *stūpas* are mentioned in Mathurā, also cf. Bṛhatkathākosa (12.132) In the *Rāmāyana* (VII 70.5) also Mathurā is described as "*devanirmitā*."
489 *Bṛh Bhā.*, 1 1774 f
490 *Vivā* 6, p. 35 f.
491 *Gaccha Vr.*, p 116 a; *Āva. Cū*, II, p. 80.
492 *Āva Cū*, p. 411 f.
493 *Ācā. Cū.*, p. 163.
494 *Bṛh Bhā Vṛ.*, 1. 1239.
495 *Ācā. Cū*, 7, p 281.
496 *Aṅguttara*, III, p 256 For the description of Mathurā, see *Harivaṁśa* (I. 54. 56 ff).
497 *C A G I*, p. 427f.
498 8, p 120.
499 *Jambu* 70, p 278.
500 Pargitar, *A.I.H T.*, p. 257, for the Buddhist conception of Majjhimadesa, see *Jātaka* (I, p. 49)
501 II, 5, p 64-1.
502 8, p 232.
503 John Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. cxxiv.

Majjhima Pāvā—a city

Same as Apāvā (See Apāvā).

(1) *Mālava* or *Mālavaka—a kingdom*

Mālava is included in the list of the sixteen *Janapadas*

Mālava was known for *bhogiya* or *bohiya* robbers, who resided in the range of the mountain and kidnapped people from Ujjenī [504]

The bread-fruit (*panasa*) was unknown in this country ,[505] the pulse *masūra* was known here as *cavalaga*,[506] and *maṇḍaga* (a thin rice-cake) was available in plenty in this country [507]

People from Mālava were known for their harsh language [508]

It is identified with Malwa. At the time of Rājā Bhoja, its capital was Dhārānagara. Its former capital was Avantī or Ujjeṇī.[509]

(2) *Mālava—country*

Mālava was considered among the non-Āryan countries.[510]

It is identified with the region around Multan in the Punjab.[511]

(1) *Malaya—a kingdom*

Malaya is considered among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Bhaddilapura as its capital It is also counted among the sixteen *janapadas*. Malaya was noted for cloths [512]

This country was situated in the south of Patna and south-west of Gaya in Bihar.[513]

(2) *Malaya—a country*

This country was situated in South. Malaya is mentioned in the *Bṛhatkathākosa* and was situated in Dakṣiṇāpatha where lay the country of Pāndava or Pāndya in its south. The mountain Malaya is located in this country.[514]

Malaya may be identified with the Malayalam or Malabar country, including Cochin and Travancore.[515]

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504 *Nisī Cū*, 16, p. 1110 *Bodhas* are referred to in the *Mahābhā*. VI. 9 39.
505 *Brh Bhā Vr Tī*, 47.
506 *Das. cū*, 6, p 212
507 *Pinda Nir Tī*, 204, p 73.
508 *Brh Bhā Vr*. 6. 6126.
509 *G D*, p 122
510 *Vya Bhā Vr*. 1 p 121 a ; *Ogha. Nir. Bhā*. 26, p. 18a.
511 *G. D*, p. 122.
512 *Anu. Sū* 37, p. 30 ; *Nisī. cū.*, 7, p. 467.
513 *S.B.M.*, p 381.
514 75, 1 ; 56. 2.
515 *G. D.*, p. 122.

Malayagāma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Succhitta and proceeded to Hatthisīsa.[516]

Its exact site cannot be located.

Māṇasa Sarovara—a lake

It is mentioned in the commentary of the *Uttarādhyayana*.[517]

It is identified with Manasa Sarovara lake in the Tibetan territory beyond the great southern wall of the Himalayas.[518]

Mandara—a settlement

It is referred to in the *Āvasyaka Niryukti*.[519]

It is unidentifiable.

Mandira

It is said that the sixteenth *Titthayara* received his first alms here.[520]

It may be identified with Mandāragiri, 30 miles south of Bhagalpur.[521]

Manipura—a city

Manipura is referred to in the *Vivāgasuya*.[522]

Manipura is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Aśvamedha P. ch. 79), according to which it was the capital of Kalinga.[523]

Lassen identifies it with Manipur Bunder and places it to the south of Chikakole.[524]

Manivai or *Manivaiyā* or *Manivaya—a city*

It is mentioned in the *Niryāvaliyā*.[525]

Manimati is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III 94·4).

It is not identifiable

Marahatta—a country

Marahaṭṭa or Mahārāstra was considered as a non-Āryan country, but king Sampai is said to have made it suitable for the movement of the Jain monks (see Andha).

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516 See Supra, p 260

517 *Uttarā Ṭī*, 18, p 237 a.

518 *Imp Gaz*, Vol. IX, p. 276.

519 443.

520 *Āva Nir.*, 324

521 *Dist. Gaz of Bhagalpur.*

522 II, 7, p. 64-1

523 Sorenson, *Index to Mahābhā*, p. 464.

524 *G. D.*, p. 126.

525 3, 5, 6, also *Vivā.*, II, 6, p. 64-1.

Various customs and practices current in Mahārāstra are recorded in the Jain texts. The people of Mahārāstra were known for their talkative nature.[526] In this country the wine sellers[527] and the barbers[528] were not despised, and a flag was always seen here on the wine-shops whether there was wine or not.[529] A curious practice by the naked Jain monks of Mahārāstra of wearing a ring (*ventaka*) on their penis is referred to in the *Brhatkalpa Bhāsya* [530]

The following words current in Mahārāstra are recorded *pālaka*[531] (a vegetable), *aganthima*[532] (plantain chips), *kūra*[533] (rice), *anna*[534] (a common word for calling out people) and *māuggāma*[535] (women)

Marahatta is identified with the present Marāthā country, the country watered by the upper Godāvarī and that lying between that river and the Krishnā [536]

Maru or *Maruya—a country*

Maru was located on the way to Ujjenī from Vīibhaya.[537]

There was excessive sand in this country and so nails were stuffed in earth for guidance of the travellers.[538] It is stated that for fetching water, people started at night and travelled a long distance in this country.[539]

It is also called Marusthalī or Marudhanva. It denotes the whole of Rajputana.[540]

Māsa or *Māsapurī—a city*

Māsa was the capital of Purivatta, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries Māsapurī is also stated to be a *śākhā* of the Jain *śramaṇas*.[541]

It is not identifiable.

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526 *Vya Bhā.* 7. 126.
527 *Brh. Bhā* Vr., 1. 1239
528 *Ācā Cū.*, p. 233.
529 *Brh. Bhā* 2. 3539.
530 1 2637.
531 *Brh Bhā*, 1. 2094.
532 *Nisī Cū*, 16. p 183 (Mss)
533 See under Lāta.
534 *Das Cū*, p. 250.
535 *Nisī Cū*, 6, p. 1 (Mss).
536 *G E B*, p. 57.
537 *Āva. cū*, p 400 ff.
538 *Sūyā. Ṭī.*, 1 11, p 196.
539 *Nisī. Cū*, 16. p. 1097.
540 *G. D.*, p. 127.
541 *Kalpa.* 8, p. 230.

Mattiyavaī– a city

Mattiyāvaī was the capital of Dasanna, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries

According to the *Harivamsa Purāna,* Mrttikāvatī was situated on the Nermada river [542]

Mayagangā—a river (daha)

Mayangā was the lower part of the Ganges where plenty of water was collected, and never flowed out [543]

According to another tradition, the region where the Ganges entered the sea, changed its course from year to year, and the oldest region was called Mayagangā [544] It is mentioned that on the bank of Mayagangā there lived Balakoṭṭa, a leader of the Cāndālas [545] The lake, *Mayagangātīraddaha,* is referred to in the *Nāyādhammakahā* This lake was located to the north-east of Benares.[546]

Māyandī—a city

The *Nāyādhammakahā* refers to a merchant, Mākandī, of Campā.[547]

Mākandī is described in the *Samarāiccakahā* [548]

Mākandī was another capital of southern Pañcāla which extended from the southern bank of the Ganges to the river Carmanvatī or Chambal [549]

Meṇḍhiyagāma—a city

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Nandiggāma and proceeded to Kosambī On his second journey he is said to have arrived here from Jambhiyagāma and proceeded to Chamāni.[550]

Its exact situation is not known.

Migakoṭṭhaga—a city

It is mentioned that Jamadaggi arrived here from Vasantapura.[551]

It seems to be identical with Indapura which was another name for Kānyakubja (See Indapura).

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542 I, 36.15
543 *Uttarā Cū*, 13, p 215; *Āva. cū.*, p. 510.
544 *Āva. Ṭī*, p. 498 a.
545 *Uttarā Cū*, 12, p 202.
546 4. p 65.
547 9. p. 121.
548 ch. 6.
549 *G D*, p. 145.
550 See Supra, p. 260.
551 *Āva. Cū.*, p. 510.

Mihilā—a city.

Videha was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Mihilā as its capital. Mihilā is included among the ten capitals of India. Mihilā was the place of birth, renunciation and salvation of the nineteenth and the twenty first *Titthayaras*[552] Mihilā was frequently visited by Mahāvīra, who is said to have passed six rainy seasons here (see supra, p 261) Mihilā was also visited by Ajja Mahāgiri[553]

At the time of Jinaprabhasūri, Mihilā was known as Jagai[554] Mithilā is called Janakapurī in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[555] and is identified with Janakapur, a small town within the Nepal border, north of which the Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet.[556]

Miyaggāma—a city

The city is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra To the north-east of the city there was a garden of Candanapāyava with the shrine of a *Jakkha*.[557]

It is not identified.

Moḍheragā—a city

Modheragā is mentioned in the *Sūyagaḍanga Cūrni*[558] The city of Modherakā is also mentioned in the *Caturvimsatiprabandha* of Rājasekharasūri, it lies in Gurjaradharā[559]

It is eighteen miles south of Patan and is situated on the left bank of the Pushmavati.[560]

Mokā—a city

It is said that this town was visited by Mahāvīra, who left for Rāyagiha from here.[561]

It is not identifiable.

Moli—a kingdom

Moli was one of the sixteen *janapadas* mentioned in the *Bhagvatī* Perhaps Moli and Malla may be identical.

552 *Āva* Nir. 383, *Uttarā Ṭī*, 9 p 139 a.
553 *Āva Nir Bhā* 132, p 143a, *Uttarā Ṭī*, 3, p. 71.
554 *Tīrt*, p. 32
555 I. 48, 11, also see *Mahābhā* (III. 210).
556 *C A. G. I*, p 718.
557 *Vivā* 1, p 21.
558 p. 348.
559 9, pp. 56, 77.
560 *Architectural Antiquity of Northern Gujerat*, by Cousens and Burgess, London, 1903, p. 71
561 *Bhag* 3. 1.

Morāga—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kollāga (see supra, p. 257). On his second journey Mahāvīra is stated to have arrived here from Atthiyaggāma and proceeded to Uttaravācāla [562]

It has not been identified.

Moriya—a settlement

Moriya Sannivesa was situated in Magadha.[563]

Its exact site is not known.

Mosali—a settlement

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Tosali and proceeded to Siddhatthapura [564]

Its exact situation is not known

Muggalagiri—a mountain

It is stated that Sukosala and his father Siddhārtha both stood here in meditation [565]

According to the *Bṛhatkathākoṣa*, this mountain was situated in Magadha [566] The hermitage of Mudgala Ṛsi existed near Monghyr in Bihar. In the eleventh century it was called Mun-giri.[567]

Muggaselapura—a city

It is mentioned that the ascetic Kālavesi arrived from Mathurā.[568]

Its location is not identified.

Nadapidayagāma—a village

It is said that this village was located on the way to Avantī from Bharuyakaccha [569]

Its exact location is not known.

Nāgapura—a city

It is another name for Hatthināpura.[570]

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562 See Supra, p 237.
563 *Āva Vṛ* 645
564 See Supra p 260
565 *Bhatta*, 161, p 30.
566 127 267
567 *G D*, p 132.
568 *Uttarā Ṭī*, 2, p 46a.
569 *Āva Nir* 1311.
570 *Thā* 10. p 453a, also *Vāyā* II, 5, p. 228.

Nālandā—a suburb

Nālandā was a suburb of Rāyagiha, situated to its north-east It was abounding in wealth and had a large number of buildings. It is said that a number of monks received their alms[571] here. There was a forest named Hatthidīva in the vicinity of Nālandā (See Hatthidīva).

In Buddhist works the distance from Rājagiha to Nālandā is stated to be one *yojana* [572]

It is identified with modern Bargaon, seven miles north-west of Rajgir in the district of Patna [573]

Nandigāma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra reached here from Bhogapura and proceeded to Mendhiyagāma.[574]

Its location is not identified.

Nandipura—a city

Nandipura was the capital of Sandibbha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. Nandipura is referred to in the Vivāgasuya also.[575]

Nandigrāma is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* (VI 130 4f) It may be identified with Nandigrāma or Nundgaon in Oudh, eight or nine miles to the south of Fyzabad [576]

Naṅgalā—a village

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Haledduyagrāma and proceeded to Āvattagāma [577]

Its exact situation is not known

Nāsikka—a city

This town is referred to in the *Āvasyaka Cūrni* [578]

It is identified with modern Nasik, about seventy five miles to the north-west of Bombay [579]

Nāyakhanda—a garden

It is stated that Mahāvīra reached here from Kundapura This garden belonged to the Nāya clan and was located on the outskirts of

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571 *Sūya Tī*, II 7 68 also see *Dīgh* I, p 211.
572 The com on the *Dīgha* I, p 35.
573 *C. A G., I*, p 537
574 See Supra, p 260
575 8, p. 46.
576 *G D*, p 138
577 See Supra, p. 258.
578 p 566
579 *G. E. B*, p. 57.

Kundapura. Mahāvīra took to the ascetic life in this garden.[580] Nāyakhaṇḍa is mentioned along with Ujjanta and Siddhasilā as a place of celebration of feasts (*sankhaḍi*).[581]

Nepāla or *Nemāli—a country*

Nepāla was visited by Bhadrabāhu[582] It is mentioned that as there was no fear from robbers in Nepāla, Tamalitti, Sindhu and Sauvīra, the Jain monks were allowed to wear undivided (*kṛtsna*)[583] garments in these countries Nepāla was noted for its blankets.[584]

It may be identified with modern Nepal, an independent state.[585]

Nevālaga—a port (pattaṇa)

It is mentioned that people travelled from here to Bāravai by boat (*nāvā*).[586]

Its exact location is unidentified.

Pabbhāsa—a holy place

It is said that when Mati and Sumati, the two daughters of king Pandusena, were sailing to Surattha from Pāndu Mahurā, their ship was foundered and they died. In course of time, their dead bodies were seen floating on the water Then a great feast was celebrated in their honour and since then this place was declared as a holy Pabbhāsa.[587]

It is identified with Somnath in the Junagadh State, Kathiawar.[588]

Pādalasanda or *Pādalisanda - a city*

This town was visited by Mahāvīra[589] The seventh *Titthayara* is said to have received his first alms at this place[590]

Its location is unidentifiable.

Pādaliputta—a city

The following tradition is recorded about the origin of Pādaliputta. It is said that when Aṇṇikāputta was crossing the Ganges from

580 See Supra p 257.
581 *Bṛh Bhā*, 1 3192.
582 *Āva cū*, II, p 187.
583 *Bṛh Bhā*, 3 3912.
584 *Ibid* 3 3824.
585 *Imp Gaz* Vol X, p 274
586 Nisī cū p 110 (MSS)
587 *Āva cū*, II p 197, however, in the *Nisītha cūrṇi* (II p 672), Pabbhāsa, Prayāga, Vakkhanda (?), Śrīmāla and Keyāra are mentioned as unholy places (*kutittha*) Cf the origin of Prabhāsa the foremost of all *tīrthas*, according to the *Mahābhārata*, Sorenson, *Index to the Mahābhārata*, p 553.
588 *G D*, p 157
589 *Viā* 7, p 40.
590 *Āva Nir*. 323.

Pupphabhadda, his boat went down into the river and that Aṇṇikāputta was drowned His skull was eaten by fish and drifted to the bank, where a seed of *pādali* found its way into it and in course of time grew into a large tree Seeing this beautiful tree, prince Udāyi founded the city of Pādaliputta here [591]

Pādaliputta was a centre of activities of the Jains It was visited by Ajja Mahāgiri and Ajja Suhatthi.[592] Pādaliputta is described as a centre of learning [593]

It is modern Patna.

Pādha—a kingdom

It is one of the sixteen *janapadas* mentioned in the *Bhagavatī*

It may be identified with Pādham in the Mainpuri district in U P [594]

Padisantāvadāyaga

It is stated that this land was situated at a distance of fifty *yojanas* to the south from the confluence of Sindhu and the Lavana ocean It is said to be twelve and a half *yojans* in extension, three and a half *yojans* above sea water, and the shape of an elephant trunk There were forty seven pitch dark caves here, of the shape of a crocodile (*ghadiyālaga-samthāna*) The inhabitants of this land were ugly, dreadful, greedy for honey and flesh covetous of women and terrible fighters They could move in water and their duration of life varied from twelve and a half nights to a large number of years (*samkhijjavāsāu*) They possessed round and hollow boats (*antaraṇdakagoliyāo*) and wandered in search of excellent jewels in the sea

At a distance of three thousand and hundred *yojanas* from this land there lay the island of Rayanadīva The inhabitants of this land filled their adamantine vessels (*vaïravaṇasilāsampudāim*) with honey and flesh, and returned to their homes in boats which were made of long wood of trees of the shape of an elephant trunk A fight is stated to have taken place between them and the cave-men which resulted in the defeat of the latter.[595]

This region is not known.

Paitthāna—a city

Paitthāna, also known as Poyanapura, was the chief city of Mahārastra situated on the bank of the Goyāvarī [596]

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591 *Āva cū* II p 179, *Āva Nir* 1279 Cf also the tradition recorded in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol I, ch iii pp 18 ff, also see *Mahāvagga*, pp 226-30 the com on the *Udāna*, p 407 f

592 *Āva Nir* 1278 *Āva cū* II p 155

593 *Sūya cū*, pp 139 141

594 John Allan, *The Ancient Indian Coins*, p. 1.

595 *Mahā Nī*, pp 17 f 35, *Gaccha Vṛ*, p 50a.

596 *Bṛh. Bhā* 6 6244 f, also *Vasu*, p 354,

In the south, Paitthāna was a great centre of the Jains, who had considerable influence over the then ruling kings. We are told that Pādalitta Sūri cured the headache of king Murunda of Paitthāna [597] Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira are stated to be the residents of this town [598] Kālakācārya is said to have visited this place.[599] Paitthāna was a seat of learning [600] (See also Poyanapura)

Paitthāna is identified with modern Paithan which lay on the southern bank of Goyāvarī in south of Aurangabad It was the birthplace and the capital of Rājā Śālivāhana who is said to have founded the Saka era in 78 A D It is Potali of the Buddhists and was a great emporium of commerce [601]

Paitthika—a village

(See Ketāya)

Its site is unknown.

Pālaga—a village

It is said that Mahāvira reached here from Sumangala and proceeded to Campā [602]

Its exact situation is not known.

Palhava or Palhaga—a country

This country is mentioned with Bahalī and Jonaga where Usabha is said to have travelled (See Adamba) It was a non-Āryan country and was known for its maid-servants. It is said that when the city of Bāravai was burnt, Kujjavāraya, the son of Baladeva, was taken to this country [603]

The Pahlavas have been identified with the Parthians.[604]

Pañcāla—a kingdom

Pañcāla was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Kampillapura as its capital.

It roughly corresponds to modern Budaun, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces.[605]

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597 *Pinda No.* 497 f, p 141a
598 *Gaccha Tī*, p 93.
599 See Supra p 239
600 *Kalpa* 1, p 90a
601 *G D*, p 159.
602 See supra, p. 260.
603 *Uttarā Tī.*, 2, p. 39.
604 *G. D.* p. 143.
605 *G E B* p. 19.

Pañcaseladīva—an Island

It is stated that the *vānamantarī* goddesses, who were residing here, set out for a pilgrimage to the Island of Nandīsaradīva. They passed through Campā by air and invited the goldsmith Kumāranandī to come to their country. In course of time, the goldsmith left for Pañcaseladīva in a ship. He reached a banyan tree which stood on the sea-coast, and from there he fastened himself to the middle legs of two three-legged Bhārunda birds which carried him to the desired destination.[606]

It is stated that Pañcaseladīva was a small island in the middle of the Lavana ocean, surrounded by five mountains.[607]

It is not identified.

Pāndu Mahurā or *Dakkhina Mahurā—a city*

Pāndu Mahurā was located on the southern bank of the sea and there was free trade between Uttara Mahurā and Dakkhina Mahurā.[608]

The five Pāndavas were the residents of this town who are stated to have attained salvation at Settuñjaya (See Hatthikappa). It is said that while coming back from Avarakankā, the Pāndavas were[609] asked by Kanha Vāsudeva to go to Pāndu Mahurā and reside there. Kanha Vāsudeva and Rāma Baladeva are said to have proceeded to Pāndu Mahurā from Bāravai and on their way halted in the forest of Kosamba (See Kosambavana). It is said that the people of Pāndu Mahurā knew nothing about the barley meal.[610]

It is identified with Madura in the south of the Madras Presidency.[611]

Paniyabhūmi

Paniyabhūmi was a place in Vajrabhūmi, a division of the country of Rāḍha. Mahāvīra is said to have passed here rainy season during his ascetic life.[612]

Its location is not identified.

Pārasa—a country

Pārasa was considered among the non-Aryan countries and was known for its maid-servants. This country was the centre of trade, where merchants wanted to travel to far off countries.[613] It is said that Ayala

606 *Āva. cū.*, p. 397 f, *Āva. Ṭī.*, p. 391 f, cf. a similar journey to Suvarnadvīpa by a Brāhmana, who hid himself in the feathers of the birds and was taken there, *Kathāsaritsagara*, Vol. II, chs. xxiv-xxvi, pp. 170-241.

607 *Abhidhāna Rājendra Kosa*, under 'Pañcaseladīva.'

608 *Āva. cū.*, p. 472

609 *Nāyā* 16, p. 197f.

610 *Bṛh. Bhā. Pī.*, 47.

611 *G. E. B.*, 21, 63.

612 *Kalpa*. 5. 123.

613 *Āva. cū.*, p. 448.

arrived here from Ujjenī and proceeded to Bennāyada with various merchandise[614] This country was visited by Kalakācārya who is said to have arrived here from Ujjenī (See Hindugadesa) It is mentioned that the people of the country made garlands from the buffalo's horns[615] and knew nothing about bread fruit (*panasa*).[616]

It is the same as modern Persia.

Pātālalankāpura—a city

This city is referred to in the commentary of the *Paṇhavāgaraṇa*[617] (See also Lankā).

Pattakālaya—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kālaya and proceeded to Kumārāya.[618]

Its exact location is not known.

Paumakhanda—a city

It is said that the eighth *Titthayara* received his first alms at this place.[619]

Its location is unknown.

(1) *Pāvā—a city*

Pāvā was the capital of Bhaṅga, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries (See Bhanga).

It is identified with the region near the Parasanath Hills.[620]

(2) *Pāvā—a city*

Same as Apāvā.

Payāga—a holy place

It is stated that when the monk Annikāputta was drowned in the Ganges, a *vāṇamantarī* erected a pike in the river to impale him. Annikāputta attained *Kevala*hood at this place, and since then this place was declared as a holy Payāga (See also Pabbhāsa; Pāḍaliputta).

614 See Supra, p 113
615 *Nisī cū*, 7, p. 464
616 *Āva cū* p 27
617 4, p 88 a.
618 See Supra, p. 258.
619 *Āva Ni*., 323.
620 *S B M*. p. 375.

Payāga[621] is referred to as Ditipayāga in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*.[622] It is identified with modern Allahabad at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

Peḍhālagāma—a village

This village was located in Daḍhabhūmi (See Daḍhabhūmi).

Pihuṇḍa—a city

Pihuṇḍu was a centre of trade. The merchant Pāliya of Campā is mentioned to have arrived here for trade.[623]

In Khārvela's inscriptions we have mention of a place founded by the former kings of Kalinga and known by the name of Pithudaga or Pithuda, which had become in one hundred and thirteen years a watery jungle of grass. It is located in the interior of Chicakole and Kalingapatam, towards the course of the river Nāgavatī[624]

Pitthicampā—a suburb

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Corāga Sannivesa and proceeded to Kayangala.[625] Pitthicampā was located very near Campā,[626] where the Teacher is said to have spent a number of rainy seasons.[627]

Its exact location is not known.

Piyasangamā

It is stated to be a land of the *Vijjāharas*[628]

Its site is unknown.

Polāsapura—a city

It is said that the potter, Saddālaputta, was a resident of this town Polāsapura was visited by Mahāvīra and Goyama Indabhūi.[629] There was an Ājīvaka *sabhā* (hall) in Polāsapura where Gosāla is said to have sojourned during his visits to the town.[630]

Its location is unidentifiable.

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621 *Āva cū* II, p. 178 f, *Gaccha*, Vr. p 66 f.

622 p 193 See also *Padmapurāna* of Ravisena (3 281), *Karakanducaria* (6. 6. 5), also *Mahābhā* (III 83 79)

623 *Uttarā Sū*, 21 2

624 *G E B*, p 65.

625 See Supra, p. 258

626 *Āva Ṭī*. p. 383a

627 See Supra, p. 261.

628 *Uttarā. Ṭī*, 18, p. 238.

629 *Anta* 6, p 40.

630 *Uvā*. 7.

Porāṇapura—a city

It was located in Puvvavideha,[631] a mythical region.
Its site has not been identified.

Poyaṇapura—a city

Poyaṇapura, also known as Pratiṣṭhānapura, was situated on the bank of the Ganges.[632]

It is also mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa* (I. 26. 49).

It may be identified with Jhusi, opposite to Allahabad, across the Ganges, which is still called Pratiṣthānpur[633]

Pukkhara—a holy place

It is mentioned in the *Āvaśyaka cūrṇī* that the three lakes were built here.[634]

Puskara is mentioned as a holy place in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 80 20).

It is identified with modern Pushkar lake six miles from Ajmer.[635]

Puṇḍarīya—a mountain

It is stated that the ascetic Thāvaccāputta reached here from Sogandhiyā and attained salvation Suya and Selaya also are said to have attained salvation on this mountain[636]

In the commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana*, we are told that the Pāṇḍavas attained liberation on this mountain.[637]

Punḍarīya and settuñjaya are identical.[638]

(1) *Pundavaddhana—a city*

Punḍavaddhana is stated to be situated in Gandhāra where the king Sīharaha was ruling[639]

It may be the same as Pāndya, a country between Jhelam and Ravi, as referred to by Ptolemy.[640]

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631 *Uttarā Ṭī.* 23, p 286a.
632 *Sam* 56, p 56a, one Poyanapura is also mentioned in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* (6.6198).
633 *G. D*, p. 159
634 p. 400 ff, also *Nisi cū*, 10, p. 645.
635 *G D.*, p 163
636 *Nāyā* 5, p. 78
637 2, p. 43
638 *Nāyā.* 16, p 200; cf. also *vividha.* p. 1, where nineteen names of Śatruñjaya are mentioned.
639 *Uttarā Ṭī.* 9, p. 141.
640 Dr. Motichand, *Bharati Vidyā*, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 31.

(2) Puṇḍavaddhaṇa—a city

Puṇḍra was known for harmless black cows which fed upon the sugarcane.[641] It was also famous for green grass (*sādvala*)[642] Puṇḍavaddhaniyā is stated to be a *sākhā* of the Jain *sramaṇas*.[643]

Punḍravardhana corresponds to Mahasthan in the Bogra district in Bengal.[644]

Punḍra—a country

This country was situated at the foot of the mountain Veyaḍḍha Its location cannot be identified.[645]

Punnakalasa—a village

It was a non-Āryan country. It is mentioned that Mahāvīra reached here from Lāḍha and proceeded to Bhaddiya.[646]

Its exact situation is not known.

Pupphabhadda, Pupphabhaddiyā or *Pupphapura—a city*

This town was located on the bank of the Ganges.[647]

It is identical with Pātaliputra [648]

(1) Purimatāla—a city

It is said that Usabha, the first *Titthayara*, attained *kevala*hood in this town [649] According to the com. of the *Āva. Nir*. 342, it was a suburb (*sākhānagara*) of Ayodhyā

(2) Purima tāla

Mahāvīra is said to have arrived here from Lohaggalā and proceeded to Unnāga.[650] It may be indentified with Purulia in Bihar.

Purivattā—a kingdom

It was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Māsa as its capital.

It is not identifiable.

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641 *Tandul Tī*, p 26a. *Pauṇḍraka* is mentioned as a variety of sugarcane grown in the Paunḍra country, North Bengal, *History of Bengal*, Vol I, p 650.

642 *Jnā*. 3, p 355

643 *Kalpa* 8, p 227a, also see T Watters on *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 185.

644 Pramode Lal Paul, *The Early History of Bengal*, p. 11, Calcutta, 1939.

645 *Thā*. 9 693, *Anta*. 5, p. 26.

646 See Supra, p 258.

647 *Āva. cū*, p 559, *Bṛh. Bhā*. 1. 1349f.

648 See also *Bengal Dist Gaz. Patna*, Vol. VIII, 1907, p. 18

649 *Āva. Nir* 251

650 See Supra, p. 259.

Purisapura—a city

This town was situated in Gandhāra.[651] It is said that once king Muruṇḍa of Pāḍaliputta sent an envoy to Purisapura.[652]
It is identified with Peshawar.[653]

Puriya or *Purī—a city*

Puriya was a centre of the Jains. It was known for the image of the living lord[654] and was inhabited by many *śrāvakas*. Puriya was visited by Vairasāmī, who is said to have arrived here from Uttarāpaha and proceeded to Māhesarī. At this time the city was governed by a Buddhist king and Jains and Buddhists were not on good terms[655]
Purima (Puriya) was a centre of trade and is cited as an example of *jalapattana*, where goods were carried by water.[656]
It may be identified with Puri Jagannath in Orissa.[657]

Puvvadesa—Eastern division of India

This country was visited by Vairasāmī, who proceeded to Uttarāpaha from here.[658] There were beggar-houses (*ghanghāsālā*) in the centre of the villages in this country[659] Rice was known as *puggali* here.[660]
According to Cunningham, Eastern India comprised Assam and Bengal proper, including the whole of the delta of the Ganges, together with Sambalpur, Orissa and Ganjam.[661]

Rāḍha—a kingdom

Same as Lāḍha (See Lādha).

Rahamaddana—a fort (kottha)

It is said that when Kanha Vāsudeva banished the Pāṇḍavas, he founded this fort as a mark of memory.[662]
According to the *Kathākosa*,[663] the city of Rathamardana lay in Madhyadeśa.
It is not identifiable.

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651 *Āva. cū.* II, p. 208.
652 *Bṛh Bhā.* 1. 2291.
653 G D, p. 162
654 *Ogh. Ṭī.*, 119, p. 59a.
655 *Āva Nir.*, 772; 1188, *Āva. cū*, p. 396.
656 *Nisī cū.*, 5, p. 34 (MSS).
657 G D, p 162.
658 *Āva cū*, p. 390.
659 *Ācā cū*, p. 260.
660 *Das cū.*, p. 236.
661 C A G. I., p. 572
662 *Nāyā* 16, p. 196.
663 *Tawney*, p. 96.

Rahaneura Cakkavāla—a city

Rahaneura Cakkavāla was located to the north of the mountain Veyaḍḍha[664]

Its location is unknown

Rahāvatta—a mountain

This mountain was situated near the mountain of Kuñjarāvatta Vairasāmī is said to have visited this mountain along with his five hundred monks. He left one novice (*khuḍḍaga*) here and in order to practise penance, went to the Kuñjarāvatta. It is said that the novice died here and that his body melted like a lump of *ghee*. Then the gods are said to have gone round the mountain in a chariot and worshipped him and hence this place came to be known as Rahāvatta[665]

It is mentioned that a battle took place between Vāsudeva and Jarāsandha near this mountain.[666] (See also Ahicchattā).

According to the *Nisītha cūrṇi*, this mountain was situated in Vidisā.[667]

Rathāvarta is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a holy place.[668]

Rahavīrapura—a town

It is mentioned that Sivabhūi founded the eighth schism at this place.[669]

It is not identifiable

Rāyagiha—a city

Rāyagiha was the capital of Magadha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It was included among the ten capitals mentioned in the *Thānānga*. The east of Sāketa, Mahāvīra allowed the Jain monks to move up to Rāyagiha.[670]

Rāyagiha is described as the birthplace of the twentieth *Titthayara*.[671] Rāyagiha was visited by Pāsa,[672] and Mahāvīra is said to have passed fourteen rainy seasons here.[673] Rāyagiha was also frequented by Ajja Suhamma[674] and Gosāla,[675] and various disciples of Mahāvīra

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664 *Uttarā Ṭī.*, 18, p. 241a ff.
665 *Marana* 470f, p. 128; *Āva Ṭī.*, p. 395a.
666 *Āva. cū*, 235
667 Vīr Nirvāna, etc., *N P*, p. 90
668 III, 82. 22.
669 *Āva Nir.* 782; *Āva. cū*, p 427.
670 *Bṛh. Sū*, 1. 50.
671 *Āva. Nir*, 383, 325.
672 *Nāyā.* II, 10, p. 230; *Niryā.* 4.
673 *Kalpa.* 5 123, also cf. *Bhag.* 7. 4; 5. 9; 2. 5; *Āva. Nir.* 473, 492, 518.
674 *Anutta*, 1, p. 58.
675 *Bhag.* 15.

lived in this city.[676] Gunasila,[677] Mandikuccha[678] and Moggarapāṇi[679] are mentioned as some of the important shrines of the city. Rāyagiha was noted for its springs.[680]

It is said that, when Khiipaitthiya was in ruin, Canagapura was founded. Then the city of Usabhapura came into existence, then Kusaggapura, and finally Rāyagiha (see Kusaggapura).

The city of Rājagaha was called Giribbaja because it was surrounded by five hills, viz, Pandava, Gijjhakūta, Vebhāra, Isigili and Vepulla.[681] In the *Mahābhārata*, the five hills are named as Vaihāra, Vārāha, Vṛsabha, Ṛṣigiri and Chaityaka.[682]

It is identified with modern Rajgir in Bihar.[683]

Rayanadīva—an island

It is said that Rayanadīva was situated at a distance of three thousand and one hundred *yojanas* from Padisantāvadāyaga (See Padisantāvadāyaga). There was an excellent palace here where the goddess of Rayanadīva lived.[684]

The *Vasudevahindī*[685] refers to the Rayanadīva, where Cārudatta was carried to by the Bherunda birds.[686] Rayanadīva is also mentioned in the *Samarāiccakahā*[687]

Ratnadvīpa is mentioned in the *Harivamsa* (II. 38. 29 ff). It was situated near Vanavāsī

Rayanapura—a city

Rayanapura was the birthplace of the fifteenth *Titthayara*.[688] It is mentioned that Kavila arrived here for purposes of study from Acalaggāma (See Acalaggāma)

Rayanapura is identified with Runāi about two miles from Sohawal, a railway station in Oudh. It was also known as Roināi.[689]

Rayanāvaha—a city

It is said that Rayanāvaha was situated in Gandhāra[690]

Its site cannot be identified

676 *Bhag* 18 3, 3 3, 7 10, 8 7 *Anta* 6, pp 31, 39, *Anutta* 1, p 58f, *Uvā* 8, p. 61.
677 *Nāyā* 2, p 47, *Dasā* 10, p 364, *Uvā* 8, p 61. It is identified with modern Gunāyā, a village situated three miles from Rājagiha in east. *Prācīna tīrthamālā* p 91,.
678 *Bhag* 15
679 *Anta* 6, p 31
680 *Brh. Bhā* Vr 2. 3429
681 The com on the *sutta Nipāta*, II, p. 382
682 II 21 2.
683 See Law, *Rājagiha in ancient literature*
684 *Nāyā* 9, p 123 ff
685 p 149
686 Also cf *Brhatkathākosa*, 93, 158 f, 52 6.
687 6 46, p 29, also *Divyāvadāna* I, 5, XVIII, 230; XXXV, 503.
688 *Āva Nir*, 383.
689 *Prācīna tīrthamālā*, *Intro*, p 37, fp 95
690 *Uttarā Ṭī.*, 9, p 138

Rāyapura—a city

It is mentioned that the eighteenth *Titthayara* received his first alms here.[691]

Rājapura is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the capital of Kalinga.[692]

Its exact location is not known.

Revayaga—a mountain

This mountain is described as abounding in various birds and creepers ; it was dear to the Dasāra kings. Near this mountain there lay the garden Nandanavana, with the shrine of Surappiya *Jakkha*. Aritthanemi is said to have attained *Kevala*hood at this place.[693]

Raivataka is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 2. 39)

Revaya is identical with Ujjinta or Girnar mountain.

Ritthapura—a city

It is mentioned that the tenth *Titthayara* received his first alms here.[694]

It is the same as Aritthapura (See Aritthapura).

Rohīdaya—a city

It is said that this town was frequented by Mahāvīra. There was a garden here named Pudhavivadimsaya with the shrine of Dharana *Jakkha*[695]

Rohītaka is described as a great city in the *Divyāvadāna* (VIII, 108). The *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā p 32. 4) and *Mahāmāyūrī* also mention Rohītaka as a place dear to Kārtikeya.

It is modern Rohatak.[696]

Ruppakūlā—a river

It is mentioned that this river flowed between Dakkhinavācāla and Uttaravācāla (See Dakkhinavācāla).

Its location is unknown.

Sāgeya—a city

Sāgeya was the capital of Kosala,[697] one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries It was included among the ten capitals. It is

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691 *Āva Nir* 325, also *Āva. cū*, II, p. 324
692 Śānti p 4 3
693 *Nāyā* 5, p 68, *Anta.* 5, p 28, *Uttarā Tī* 22, p 280.
694 *Āva Nir* 324
695 *Vivā* 9, p 49, also *Sum* 68, p 57, *Niryā* 5.
696 The Geo contents of the Mahāmāyūrī, Dr. Sylvain Lévi, trans. by V. S. Agrawala *J U P H S*, XV, pt II
697 *Thā. Tī*, 1), p 153a, *Uttarā cū*, p 213, According to Abhayadeva, Sāketa, Vinītā and Ayodhyā are identical, *Thā.* 10. 718, p. 454.

stated that the fourth *Titthayara* received his first alms here.[698] Sāgeya was visited by Pārsva[699] as well as by Mahāvīra, the latter assigned a limit for the movements of the Jain monks here (see supra p 250).

Sāketa was one of the six great cities of Buddhist India, the others being Campā, Rājagiha, Sāvitthī, Kosambī and Bārānasī.[700] The distance from Sāketa to Sāvatthī was seven leagues (*yojanas*).[701]

Sāgeya is identified with modern Ayodhyā.

Sāhañjaṇī—a city

This city is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra.[702]

Sāhañjanī is also mentioned in the *Harivamśa* (I. 33 4).

Its probable identification may be suggested with Sāhanjan or Sanjān, a village in the Thana district, Bombay.

Sajjha—a mountain

It is referred to in the *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*.[703]

Sahya is one of the seven principal chains of mountains in India. It is still known as Sahyādri and is the same as the northern parts of the Western Ghats north of the river Kāveri.[704]

Sālāṭavī—a village

It is mentioned as a village of robbers near Purimatāla.[705]

Sāliggāma—a village

This village was located in Magadha[706] near Gobbaragāma.[707]

Its site is not known.

Sālisīsa—a village

Mahāvīra is stated to have journeyed to this place from Gāmāya and proceeded to Bhaddiya.[708]

Its exact situation is not known.

698 *Āva Nir* 323
699 *Nāyā.* 11 9, p 229
700 *Dīgha* , II, p 146
701 *Mahāvagga* , p 253.
702 *Vivā* 4, p. 29
703 925, Malaya, *Ṭī* , p 511a.
704 *G D.*, p 171.
705 *Vivā* 3, p. 20.
706 *Āva. cū* , II, p. 94.
707 *Pinda Nir.*, 199, p. 72.
708 See Supra, p. 259.

Sambhuttara—a country

It was one of the sixteen countries mentioned in the *Bhagavatī*.

It is same as Suhmuttara, which means "people north of Suhma." Suhma corresponds with the modern districts of Midnapur and Bankura, and perhaps also Purulia and Manbhum in west Bengal.[709]

Sambukka—a city

This city was situated in Avantī.[710]

Its exact location is not known.

Sammeya—a mountain

Sammeya is mentioned with Campā as a holy place (See Campā). It is stated that, except Usabha, Vāsupujja, Nemi and Vīra, all other *Titthayaras* attained salvation on this mountain.[711] It is mentioned that a *Saṅgha* set out to pay a visit to the shrines on this mountain.[712]

It is identified with Parasnath Hill in the district of Hazaribagh, in Bihar.[713]

Samvaddhana or *Simbavaddhana—a city*

It is mentioned that the king Muṇḍivaya or Mundimbhaya was reigning here.[714]

Its exact location is unidentifiable.

Saṇḍibbha or *Sāṇḍilya—a kingdom*

This country was counted among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Nandipura as capital.

It may be identified with Sandila, a sub-division of Hardoi district in Oudh. Sāṇḍilya āśrama is mentioned in the district of Fyzabad in Oudh, which was the hermitage of Ṛṣi Sāṇḍilya.[715]

Saṅkhaṇḍa—a city

It is mentioned that king Jambudāḍima was reigning here.[716]

Its site is not known.

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709 *Mārkandeya*, p 357.
710 *Mahā Ni* Guj. trans (MSS), p. 27.
711 *Āva Nir* 307; cf. *Nāyā*. 8, p. 120; *Ācā. cū*, p. 257.
712 *Uttarā Tī*, 18, p. 236.
713 *G. D*, p. 176.
714 *Āva. Nir*. 1312; *Āva. cū*, II, p. 210.
715 *G. D.*, p 176.
716 *Mahā. Nī.*, p. 25.

Sankhapura—a city

It is mentioned that the prince Agaḍadatta proceeded to Vāṇārasī from here.[717] (See also Camarī).

Its situation is not known.

Sānulatthiya—a village

It is mentioned that Mahāvīra arrived here from Sāvatthī, and proceeded to Daḍhabhūmi.[718]

It is unidentified.

Sarassaī—a river

It is stated that the citizens of Ānandapura set out for this river for celebrating feasts (see Ānandapura). Sarassaī was known for pilgrimage.[719]

It may be identified with the river Saraswati of western India, rising in mountain Abu in Rajaputana.[720]

Sarau—a river

It is mentioned as one of the five great tributary rivers of the Ganges.[721]

It is Ghāgrā, or Gogrā, a tributary of the Ganges on which stood the city of Ayojjhā [722]

Saravaṇa—a settlement

It is mentioned as the birthplace of Gosāla.[723]

Its exact location is not known.

Sataddu—a river

Sataddu is mentioned as one of the five great tributaries of the Sindhu.[724]

Śatadru is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 193. 10) and is identified with modern Sutlej.[725]

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717 *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 4, p. 83a.
718 See Supra, p 260.
719 *Ācā cū*, p. 332; *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1.1091, *Viśeṣa cūrṇi.*
720 *Imp. Gaz*, under "Saraswati."
721 See Supra, p. 264.
722 *G E. B*, p. 39.
723 *Bhag* 15.
724 *Ṭhā.* 5. 170.
725 *G E. B* p. 39.

Sāvatthī—a city

Sāvatthī or Kuṇālānayarī was the capital of Kuṇālā, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It was included among the ten capitals. It is stated that Sāvatthī was the birthplace of the third *Tittha-yara,* who received his first alms here.[726] It was visited by Pāsa[727] and his follower Kesīkumāra[728] Sāvatthī was also visited by Mahāvīra frequently[729] It was also visited by Gosāla,[730] Jamālı,[731] and Ajja Khanda[732]

It is identified with Sahet-Mahet on the bank of the Rapti.[733]

Savvaobhadda—a city

It is mentioned that king Jiyasattu ruled here.[734]

Its situation is not known.

Sayaduvāra—a city

It is said that this town was situated in the country of Punda which lay at the foot of the mountain Veyaḍḍha[735] It is stated that to the south-east of the town there lay a city known as Vijayavaddhamāṇa.[736]

It is not identifiable.

Selagapura—a city

It is mentioned that king Selaga joined the ascetic order here. The city was also visited by the monk Thāvaccāputta, who is stated to have arrived here from Bāravai and preached his religion[737]

It is not identified.

Selapura—a city

It is mentioned that this town was situated in Tosali. Isitaḍāga was a lake in this city where people are said to have celebrated the eight days feast (See Isitalāga).

Its exact location is not known.

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726 *Āva. Nir*, 323, 382.
727 *Nāyā* II, 9, 10, p 229; *Niryā*. 3. 1.
728 *Rāya. Sū*. 146 ff. *Uttarā Ṭī* p. 35a.
729 *Bhag* 12 1; *Uvā*. 9, p. 69; *Āva. Nir*. 480, 496, 517.
730 *Bhag* 15.
731 *Ibid* 9 6; *Āva. Nir*. 782.
732 *Bhag* 2 1.
733 *C. A G I* p. 469, also see Law, *Śrāvasti in Ancient Literature*.
734 *Uvā* 5, p. 33.
735 *Ṭhā* 9. 693; *Anta*. 5, p. 26.
736 *Vivā*. 1, p. 6.
737 *Nāya*. 5, p. 73.

Settuñjaya—a mountain

It is mentioned that the prince Goyama renounced the world under Aritthanemi and attained salvation on this mountain.[738] It is stated that a number of other monks also attained salvation here.[739] Another name of Settuñjaya was Puṇḍarīya (See Puṇḍarīya).

According to the *Trisaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (p 354ff), just as the blessed Ṛsabha was the first *Tīrthankara*, so mount Śatruñjaya became the first *Tīrtha*.

It is situated in Kathiawar, seventy miles north-west of Surat and thirty four miles from Bhavanagar [740]

Seyapura—a city

It is mentioned that the ninth *Titthayara* received his first alms here.[741]

Its location is not known.

Seyavi or *Seyaviyā—a city*

Seyaviyā was the capital of Keyaiaddha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Uttaravācāla and having crossed the Ganges, proceeded to Surabhipura. Next time the Teacher is said to have reached here from Ālabhiyā and proceeded to Sāvatthī [742] Seyavi was also frequented by Kesīkumāra.[743]

In Buddhist literature Setavya was a city of the Kosala country.[744] Prof. Rys Davids identifies it with Satiabia ; Mr. Vost with Basedita, 17 miles from Sahet-Mahet and six miles from Balarampur.[745]

Siddhasilā—a holy place

It was a holy place and is referred to in the *Āvaśyaka cūrni*.[746] (See also Nāyakhaṇḍa).

Its precise situation is not known.

Siddhatthapura

It is mentioned that the eleventh *Titthayara* received his first alms here.[747] Siddhatthapura was frequented by Mahāvīra, who arrived

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738 *Anta*. 1, p. 6.
739 Cf. *Anta*. 2, p. 7 ; 4, p. 23.
740 *G. D.*, p. 182.
741 *Āva. Nir*. 324.
742 See Supra, p. 260.
743 *Rāya. Sū*, 157 ff.
744 *Digha*, II, p. 316.
745 *G. D.*, p. 184.
746 p 567.
747 *Āva. Nir.*, 324.

here from Vajjabhūmi and proceeded to Kummagāma. Then he returned to Siddhatthapura again and proceeded to Vesāli [748]

Probably it may be identified with Siddhangram in the Birbhum district [749]

Sīhaguhā (corapalli)—a village

This village was located near Rāyagiha.[750]

Sīhala or *Simhala dīva—a country*

Sīhala dīva was counted among the non-Āryan countries and was known for its maid-servants.

Sīhala is cited as an example of *āsndīna dīva* which did not overflow by periodical sea-tide like the country of Konkana. It is said that the sea-going merchants halted here in the middle of their journey.[751] Bharata is said to have conquered this country (See Anga).

Simhala is identified with Ceylon.[752]

Sīhapura—a city

Sīhapura is mentioned as the birthplace of the eleventh *Tittha-yara.*[753] It is also mentioned in the commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana.*[754]

It may be identified with Simhapurī near Benares.[755]

Sinavalli—a country

Sinavalli is referred to in the *Āvaśyaka cūrni* [756] It was a desert where caravans lost their way

Sinavalli should be a tract round about the Punjab or Sind. A place called Sanāwan or Sināwan is situated in the district of Muzaffargarh ; it is almost barren Probably, it may be identified with Sinavalli.

Sindhavalona—a mountain

This mountain was known for its *sendhava* salt, and the mines of *sovac-cala* and *kālālona* salts were also found in between this mountain.[757]

Saindhavāranya, or the Salt-Range is referred to in the *Rājataraṅ-giṇī.*[758]

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748 See Supra, p 260.
749 *History of Bengal,* Vol. I, p. 22
750 *Nāyā* 18, p 208 f.
751 *Ācā Ṭī* , 6 3, p 223 a.
752 *G. D* , p 186.
753 *Āva. Nir.*, 383.
754 18, p 239 a.
755 *Prācīna tīrthamālā*. p. 4.
756 p. 553 , II, p. 34. Sinavalli is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda, Vedic Index,* II, p. 449 ; Also *Index to Mahābhārata*, p. 639 ; *Mārkendeya Purāna*, p. 300.
757 *Das.* 3, p 115.
758 Vol. II, p 145 n , VIII. 1042, 1868, 2007.

It is a hill system in Jhelum and Shahpur districts in the Punjab, deriving its name from its extensive deposits of rock-salt.[759]

Sindhu—a country

It is mentioned that the country of Sindhu Sovīra was declared Āryan from the time of Samprati.

For various reasons the Jain monks were not allowed to frequent Sindhu. It is mentioned that this country was full of water and a home of various heretical nuns such as *Carikā*, *Parivrājikā*, *Kāpālikā*, *Taccannikā* and *Bhāgavī*. If a monk, due to famine, invasion of the enemy or such other calamity was forced to visit this country, it was expected of him to come back as soon as possible.[760] The land of this country is stated to be very rough and was flooded frequently ; it had breaches in the earth. There were cold breezes and dew-fall at night in this country,[761] and the corn was cultivated here by rivers.[762]

The people of Sindhu were fond of eating *gorasa* (production of milk),[763] and were used to meat-eating, and hence the non-vegetarians were not censored in this country.[764] Similarly, the washermen were not considered degraded here,[765] and a wine pot could be used for drinking purposes.[766] It is stated that the monks were allowed not to remove the fringes of their garments in this country like that of Thūṇā,[767] and they received their alms with clean clothes.[768]

Sindhu comprised the whole valley of the Indus from the Punjab to the sea, including the delta and the island of Cutch.[769]

Sindhu—a river

Sindhu is stated to be one of the ten great rivers.[770]

It is the river Indus.[771] The best horses were born in the country around its bank.[772]

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759 *Imp. Gaz.*, XII, pp 170-2

760 *Bṛh Bhā* Vr 1 2881 f, 4 5441 f

761 *Vya Bhā* 8 15 From time immemorial Sind has depended for its fertility on floods. Prior to 1874 the upper Sind frontier district was yearly subject to inundation. In that year a heavy flood swept away over eighty towns and villages. Then there was another heavy flood in 1892 which caused heavy damage to the country, *Gaz. of the Province of Sind*, Karachi, 1907, pp 5, 271.

762 *Bṛh Bhā.* Vr. 1 1239

763 *Ibid* 3. 2749

764 *Ibid*, 1 1239, also foot-note

765 *Nisī cū*, 4, p 345

766 *Bṛh Bhā.* Vr. 1 1239 *Viseṣa cūrṇi*

767 *Ibid*, 3 3906

768 *Nisī cū*, 15, p 121 (MSS)

769 *C A G. I*, p. 284.

770 *Thā* 10 717.

771 *C. A G. I.*, p. 690.

772 *Mahābhārata* VII. 104. 8.

Sindhunandana—a city

It is said that Mahāpauma reached here from Hatthināpura.[773] The *Bṛhatkathākośa* [774] mentions that this town was situated on the bank of the Sindhu.

It is not identifiable.

Sindhu Sovīra—a country

This country was included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Vīibhayapattana as its capital (see Sindhu ; Sovīra).

The two lands of Sindhu and Sovīra are mentioned in the Pali texts, each of which is described as a great centre of trade and commerce.[775]

Sippā—a river

This river flowed near Ujjeṇī.[776]

This is identified with modern Sipra in Central India

Sirimāla—a city

Sirimāla was included among unholy places (See Pabhāsa). It was visited by Vairasāmī, who is said to have arrived here from Puriya,[777] (See also Bhillamāla).

It is same as Bhillamāla or Bhinmal, the capital of Gurjjaras from about the sixth to the ninth century A. D., fifty miles west of Abu mountain.[778]

Sivamandira

Sivamandira was located on the south range of Veyaḍḍha.[779]

It is not identifiable

Sogandhiyā—a city

Mahāvira is said to have visited this town. There was a garden here named Nīlāsoya with the shrine of Sukāla *Jakkha*.[780]

This town was also frequented by Thāvaccāputta, who is said to have arrived here from Selagapura (see Puṇḍarīya).

It is not identified.

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773 *Uttarā Ṭī.*, 18, 246 a.
774 33 52
775 Law, *India as Described*, p. 70.
776 *Āva cū.*, p 544
777 *Āva Ṭī*, p 390a.
778 *G D.*, p. 192.
779 *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 13, p. 193a.
780 *Vivā.* II, 6, p. 64.

Somanasa

It is mentioned that the fifteenth *Titthayara* received his first alms here.[781]

Its location is not known

Sopāraya—a city

Sopāraya was situated in Konkana on the sea-coast[782] It was a centre of commerce and a number of traders are said to have resided here[783] Sopāraya was visited by Vairasena,[784] Ajja Samudda and Ajja Mangu[785]

There was a regular trade between Bharuyakkaccha, Suvaṇṇabhūmi and Suppāraka[786] Suppāraka is identified with modern Sopara in the Thana district to the north of Bombay[787]

Soriyapura—a city

Soriyapura, which lay on the bank of the Jaunā,[788] was the capital of Kusattā, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is mentioned that king Sauri entrusted the kingdom of Mahurā to his younger brother Suvīra, and proceeded to Kusāvatta, where he founded Soripura[789] Mahāvīra is stated to have visited this town[790]

Śauryapura is identified with Suryapur or Surajpur near Bateswar, which is situated on the right bank of the Jumna in the Agra district.[791]

Sovīra—a country

Sovīra is mentioned together with Sindhu with Vībhaya as its capital (See Sindhu Sovīra)

It is identified with modern Sind.[792]

Subbhabhūmi

It is stated that the country of Lādha was divided into Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi (See Ladha)

It may be identified with Singhbhum in Bengal.[793]

781 *Āva Nir*, 324
782 *Uttarā Ṭī*, 4, p 78a
783 *Bṛh Bhā* 1. 2506
784 *Āva Cū*, p 406
785 *Vya Bhā* 6 239ff
786 Avadāna, II 476 (vs 13 ff)
787 *Imp Gaz* Vol 13, p 65
788 *Tīrā* S p 45 f
789 *Kalpa Ṭī*, 6, p. 171 a.
790 *Āva Nir* 1289, *Āva Cū* II, p 193
791 *Prācīna tīrthmālā*, Pt I, Intro, p 38, *Gazetteer of Agra*, pp. 137, 236.
792 Jayachand Vidyalankar, *Bhārat Bhūmi aur uske nivāsī*, p 37n.
793 *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. XII, p 529.

Subhoma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Vāluyagāma and proceeded to Succhittā.[794]

Its exact location is not known.

Succhittā—a village

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Subhoma and proceeded to Malaya. Next time he journeyed to this place from Sumangala and proceeded to Pālaya.[795]

It is not identifiable.

Sudamasaṇapura—a city

This town was situated in Avantī.[796]

Its exact location is not known.

Suggīva—a city

It is mentioned that king Balabhadda ruled here.[797]

Its exact situation is not known.

Sughosa—a city

This town is said to have been visited by Mahavīra. There was a garden here named Devaramaṇa with the shrine of Vīrasena.[798]

It is not identified.

Sumangalagāma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kosambī and proceeded to Pālayagāma.[799]

Its location is not known.

Sumanomukha—a city

It is mentioned that the walls of this city were made of mud.[800]

It is not identified.

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794 See Supra, p 260

795 Ibid Āva Nir 523.

796 *Uttarā Tī*, 9, p 136 ff., also see *Āva. Nir.* 1293.

797 *Uttarā Sū* 19. 1 f.

798 *Vivā*. II, 8, p. 64-1.

799 See Supra, p. 260.

800 *Bṛh. Bhā*. Vṛ., 1. 1123.

Sumsumārapura or *Susumārapura—a city*

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Vesāli and proceeded to Bhogapura [801] The sage Vārattaka is said to have journeyed here from Vārattapura [802]

Susumārapura is identified with a hilly place near Chunar in Mirzapur district According to Pali literature, it is the capital of Bhagga country [803]

Supaitthapura—a city

This town was situated on the bank of the Ganges.[804]

It may be identified with Pratiṣṭhānpur, also known as Poyaṇapura, near Jhunsi in Allahabad district.

Surabhipura --a city

It is mentioned that after crossing the Ganges, Mahāvīra arrived here from Seyaviyā and proceeded to Thūṇā [805]

Its situation is not known.

Sūrasena—a country

Sūrasena was the capital of Mahurā, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries.

Sūrasena was located immediately to the south of the Kuru and to the east of the Matsya country [806]

Surattha—a kingdom

It is said that from the time of Samprati the country of Surattha along with Andhra Dravida Mahārāstra and Kudukka, was opened for the preaching of the Jain monks (see Andha)

Surattha is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Bāravai as the capital

It is mentioned that Kālaka ācārya brought here ninety six kings from Pārasakūla (see Hindugadesa) and accordingly this country was divided into ninety six *mandalas*.[807] Surattha was a centre of trade and was visited by the merchants frequently.[808]

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801 See Supra p 260, also See *Bhag* 3 2
802 *Āva cū*, II, p 199 f
803 *Majjhima* p 61n, by Rahula Sankrityayana, *Samantapāsādikā*, IV 862; *Majjhima* I, p 332
804 *Tīrtha* 9, p 49 1, p 11
805 See Supra p 257.
806 *C A I G*, p 706.
807 *Brh Bhā* Vr., 1. 943.
808 *Das cū.*, 1, p. 40.

A grass-cutting wooden instrument known as *kuliya*, was in use in Suraṭṭha. It measured two hands and had iron nails fixed at the end with an iron plate attached to it [809] It is said that the corn *kangu* was available in this country in plenty and rice was eaten in its absence [810]

Surattha comprises modern Kathiawar and other portions of Gujerat [811]

Sūrodaya—a city

The town was located in Veyaddha Indadhanu is mentioned as the lord of Vijjāharas of the town [812]

Its site is not known.

Suttivai or *Suttimatī—a city*

Suttivai was the capital of Cedi, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries

It is the Suktimatī or Śuktisahvaya of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Mahābhārata* also mentions a river by the name of Śuktimatī, which is said to break through the Kolāhala hills and flow by the ancient kingdom of Cedi Pargiter identifies the river with the modern Ken and places Śuktimatī near the modern town of Banda [813]

Suvannabhūmi—a country

It is stated that Suvannabhūmi was visited by Usabha (See Adamba) and also by Ajja Kālaga, the latter is said to have arrived here to see his grand-disciple from Ujjenī [814] Suvannabhūmi and Sīhala dīva are cited as examples of *āsandīna dīva* which did not overflow by periodical sea-tide [815] Cārudatta is said to have reached here in goat's skin (*ajena = vastrena*) [816]

According to the *Vasudevahindī*, it was situated near the mountain Veyaddha [817]

Suvannabhūmi is identical with lower Burma, Pegu and Moulmein districts [818]

809 *Nisī cū*, p 53 (MSS)
810 *Ibid* 2, p 129 (MSS)
811 *C A G I*, p 697, *G E B*, p 58
812 *Uttarā* 18 p 247
813 *G D* p 196
814 *Ava cū*, II, p 25
815 *Ācā cū*, p 224.
816 *Sūya Tī*, 1 11, p 196
817 p 149.
818 *G. E. B*, p. 70.

Suvannakhalaya—a village

It is mentioned that Mahāvīra travelled here from Kollāka and proceeded to Bambhanagāma [819]

Its situation is not known

Suvannavāluyā—a river

It is stated that this river flowed between Dakkhinavācāla and Uttaravācāla (See Dakkhinavācāla) [820]

Its exact situation is unknown.

Tagarā—a city

It is said that this town was visited by Rāhācārya[821]; his pupils arrived from Ujjeni

Tagarā is identified with Tera, a village in Osmanabad district of Hyderabad State situated to the north-east on the Tirna river,[822] twelve miles north-east of Osmanabad

Takkhasilā—a city

Takkhasilā was the capital of Bahalī and is said to have been frequented by Usabha When Bāhubali was informed about Usabha's arrival he visited the place next morning but then Usabha had already left When Bāhubali could not see the Master he felt much grieved. He saw the prints of the Master's feet, honoured them and put over them a jewelled *dhammacakka* so that no one may walk on those foot prints [823] (See also Bahalī, Dhammacakkabhūmikā)

Takkasilā or Taxila was the capital city of Gandhāra kingdom It is frequently mentioned as a centre of education in the Jātakas It lay two thousand leagues from Benares, and has been identified with the ruins near Shahdheri twelve miles from Rawalpindi in the Punjab [824]

Tāmalitti—a city

Tāmalitti was the capital of Vanga which was included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. Tāmali Moriyaputta is stated to be a resident of this town.[825]

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810 See Supra, p 258

820 Hemavālukā is mentioned in the *Kathāvatthu*, Vol VII, ch cviii, p 65.

821 *Uttarā Ṭī* 2 p 25 a, also *ibid*, 2, p 20a, *Marana* 489 p 129 a, *Vya. Bhā* 3 339.

822 *G D* p 200 cf *Anu Sū* 130, p 137 See also *Kālakanducaria*, IV, VI

823 *Āva cū*, p 180f, *Āva Nir.*, 322, also *T. S P.*, p. 186 See also *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara ch 101.

824 *C A G I*, p 681, *G E. B*, p. 52.

825 *Bhag* 3 1.

Tāmalitti is cited as an example of *donamuha* where goods were carried by land as well as by water.[826] It was well-known for cloth and is mentioned along with Gauda and Sindhu[827] (See also Koṅkana).

Tāmalitti was a great river-port town of the time It is identified with modern Tamluk, situated on the bank of the Rupanarayan [828]

Tambāya—a settlement

It is mentioned that Mahāvīra travelled here from Jambukhanda and proceeded to Kūviya Sannivesa.[829]

It has not been identified.

Tankana—a country

It was a non-Āryan country It is referred to in the *Sūyagaḍaṅga*[830] as well as in the *Bhagavatī*.[831]

It is said that the Tankana *mlecchas* lived in Uttarāvaha and went to Ḍakkhināvaha for trade taking with them gold, ivory and other saleable commodities Since they did not follow the language of the southern country, they collected their goods in piles and laid their hands on them They did not lift their hands from the articles until they got a suitable price for their goods [832]

Tankana is mentioned in the *Brhatkathākosa* [833] There was a mountain here of the same name Rudradatta and Cārudatta are said to have killed two goats on this mountain They entered into their skin and were taken by the greedy Bherunda birds to the Ratnadvīpa.

The tanganas were a mountain tribe and are mentioned often in the *Mahābhārata* They inhabitated a large kingdom ruled over by Subāhu which was in the middle portion of the Himalayas [834]

Teyalipura—a city

It is mentioned that king Kanagaraha ruled here [835]

It is not identifiable.

826 *Brh Bhā.* 1. 1090.
827 *Vya Bhā.* 7 32
828 *C A G I.*, p 732 For different names and discussion about Tāmralipti see Sylvain Lévi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, p 118 f
829 See Supra p 258.
830 3 3 18
831 3 2
832 *Āva cū*, p 120
833 93 146.
834 II. 29. 44, III 142 24 ff; See also Dr. Motichand's article in the *J. U. P. H S*, Vol. XVII, Pt I, p 35.
835 *Nāyā.* 14, p. 147 ff.

(1) Thūṇā—a settlement

It is mentioned that Mahāvīra arrived here from Surabhipura and proceeded to Rāyagiha[836]

Sthūnā is mentioned in the *Mahāmāyurī* The *Udāna* (VII.9) places Sthūṇā in the country of Mallas to the[837] north-west of Patna on the right bank of the Gandakī.[837]

(2) Thūṇā—a country

This country was situated in the west of Sāketa. Mahāvīra allowed his monks to traverse up to Thūṇā to the west of Sāketa (See Sāketa). The Jain monks were allowed to wear costly garments in this country, but it is said that their fringes should be removed (See Sindhu).

It is identified with Thaneshwar[838]

Tigiñchī—a city

It is mentioned that king Jiyasattu ruled here.[839]

Its site is not known

Timisaguhā—a cave

This cave was located in the mountain Veyaḍḍha and is mentioned along with Khandappavāya.[840]

Its location is not known.

Toranaura—a city

This city was situated on the Veyaḍḍha mountain.[841]

Its exact situation is not known.

Tosali—a city

It seems that Tosali was a centre of the Jains in ancient days where there was a marvellous image of God Jina guarded by king Tosalika.[842] It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Hatthisīsa and proceeded to Mosali. He returned to Tosali again and set out for Siddhatthapura. Mahāvīra was tied up here seven times and was thus caused many grievances.[843]

836 See Supra, p 257

837 The Geographical contents of Mahāmāyūrī, by Dr. Sylvain Lévi, translated by V. S Agrawala, *J. U P H S*, Vol. XV, pt. II.

838 *C A G I* p xliii, f n 2.

839 *Vivā* II, 9, p 64-2

840 *Jambu Sū.*, 12.

841 *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 9, p. 143.

842 *Vya. Bhā* 6. 115 ff.

843 See Supra, p. 260.

Tosali is mentioned along with Koṅkaṇa where people were fond of eating fruits and vegetables, and where livelihood was earned by selling fruits and flowers.[544] There was plenty of water in this country and so the corn was grown here by rivers even though there were no rains. It is mentioned that sometimes due to heavy rains, the crops failed in this country and in that case the Jain monks were allowed to live on palm-fruits which grew here in abundance.[545]

There was a large number of she-buffaloes in Tosali which attacked people with their hoofs and mouths and it is stated that ācārya Tosali was killed here by a buffalo.[546]

This country was known for its lakes (*talodaka*).[547]

According to Dr. Sylvain Lévi, Tosali was situated in the district of Cuttack, in Orissa, and the present village Dhauli stands on a site near to or identical with that of Tosali.[548]

Tumbavaṇa—a settlement

Tumbavaṇa Sannivesa was situated in Avanti.[549] It is stated to be the birthplace of Vajraswāmin.[550]

Its exact situation is not known.

(1) *Tuṅgiya—a settlement*

Tuṅgiya Sannivesa was located in Kosambi.[551]

(2) *Tuṅgiya—a mountain*

Rāma Baladeva is said to have practised penance on this mountain (See Kosambāraṇṇa). This mountain is also referred to in the commentary of the *Gacchācāra*.[552]

It may be identified with modern Mangitungi about 80 miles from Nasik.

(3) *Tuṅgiya—a city*

Tuṅgiyā is mentioned as a home of a number of *samaṇovāsagas*, and was visited by the disciples of Pāsa.[553]

544 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1. 1239, Vṛtti.
545 *Ibid.*, 1. 1060 f.
546 *Āva. cū.*, p. 247.
547 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 2. 3429.
548 See for the discussion *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 63-72, translated by Bagchi.
549 *Āva. cū.*, p. 390.
550 *Āva. Nir.*, 765.
551 *Ibid.* 646.
552 32, p. 38.
553 *Bhag.* 2-5.

The Jain pilgrims identify Tungiya with the town of Bihar. Probably it may be identified with modern Tungi situated two miles from Bihar.[854]

Turukka—a country

Turukka is mentioned in the *Ovāiya*[855] and other Jain texts. It was a substance used for incense and is mentioned with *kālāguru, kundarukka* etc. *Turukka* is either Liquidambar Orientale (*sīhalaka*, vernacularly *silārasa*), or Schrebera Swietenioides (Sanskrit *ghantapātala*) or the resin of Pinus Longifolia (Sanskrit *srīvāsa*).[856]

Turukkī is included among the eighteen scripts.[857]

Turushka is identified with Eastern Turkestan.[858]

Turuminī—a city

It is mentioned that Sasaya and Bhasaya, the two monks arrived here with their sister Sukumāliyā from Vanavāsī.[859]

It is not identified.

Uccānagara—a city

Uccānāgarī is known as a *śākhā* of the Jain *śramanas*.[860]

(See also Varanā)

Uddandapura—a city

This town is said to have been visited by Gosāla.[861]

This is identified with the town of Bihar in Patna district. Bihar was also called Dandapura or Udandapura. It was known as Dandpura as a number of *dandins* (religious mendicants) collected here and made this land their headquarters.[862]

Ujjayanta or *Ujjinta*—*a mountain*

It is stated that Aritthanemi attained salvation on this mountain.[863] This mountain is mentioned as a place of renunciation in general.[864] There were water-falls[865] on this mountain and people used to celebrate

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854 *Prācīnatīrthamālā* Pt. I, p. 16 introduction.
855 p. 8.
856 Barnett *Antagada*, p. 3n.
857 *Visesā. Bhā.* 5. 464.
858 *G. D.*, p. 207.
859 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4. 5255 ff.
860 *Kalpa Sū.*, 8, p. 232.
861 *Bhag.*, 15.
862 *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, p. 78.
863 *Uttarā.* ..., 307, *Kalpa. Sū.*, 174, p. 182.
864 *Ogh.* 119, p. 60.
865 *Bṛh. Bhā.* Vṛ. 1. 2022

here feasts every year. Ujjayanta and Vebhāra are referred to as mountains[866] where sports were held. (See also Girinagara ; Hatthikappa ; Nāyakhaṇḍa).

The name Ujjayanta is mentioned in both of the Girnar inscriptions of Rudradāma and Skandagupta. It is only another name for the Girnar hill that rises above the old city of Junagadh.[867] Ujjayanta was also known as Revaya. (See Revaya).

Ujjeṇī—a city

Ujjeṇī was situated in Dakkhināvaha in Avantī It was also known as Kuṇālanayara[868] since it was given to the prince Kuṇāla for viceroyality

Ujjenī was known for the image of the living lord, and Ajja Suhatthi, a contemporary of king Sampai, is stated to have visited it.[869] Ujjeṇī was also visited by ācārya Caṇḍarudda,[870] Bhaddaya Gutta, Ajjarakkhiya[871] and Ajjāsāḍha.[872]

Ujjenī was a centre of commerce and we hear of the merchants of this place moving about for trade with a caravan.[873] Ujjeṇī is mentioned along with Māhessara and Sirimāla where people of the same nature including the Brāhmanas were addicted to drink wine. (See Māhessara ; also Bharuyakaccha ; Mālava).

Ujjayanī is also called as Visālā, Avantī and Puṣpakaraṇḍinī[874] It is identified with modern Ujjain on the bank of the Sipra[875]

Ujjuvāliyā—a river

This river was situated at the outskirts of the city of Jambhiyagāma (See Jambhiyagāma).

It remains unidentified

Ulluga—a river

Ullugātīra and Kheḍatthāma were situated on eastern and western banks of this river respectively (See Kheḍatthāma).

866 *Bhag. Ṭī.*, 7. 6.
867 *G D* p. 211.
868 *Sam* 82, p 58.
869 *Bṛh Bhā.* 1. 3277.
870 *Ibid.*, 6. 6103f, *Uttarā Ṭī.* 1, p. 4.
871 *Āva. Cū.*, pp 394, 403
872 *Dasa. Cu*, 3, p. 96.
873 *Āva. Cū.* II., p. 154 ; *Āva. Nir.* 1276 ; also *Das. Cū.* 1, p. 56.
874 *Abhidhāna.* IV. 42.
875 *C. A. G. I*, p. 726.

On the eastern bank was stopping Gaṅgadeva, the grand-disciple of Mahāgiri. He used to cross the river and visited his teacher Dhaṇagutta on the other bank.[876]

Its exact situation is not known.

Ullugātīra—a city

This city was situated on the bank of the river Ullugā and was visited by Mahāvīra.[877] (See Ullugā).

It is not identified

Unnāga—a settlement

It is said that after crossing a forest, Mahāvīra arrived here from Puṇimatāla and proceeded to Gobhūmi [878] Unnāta is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā. 27. 5).

Its location is not known

Usabhapura a city

It is mentioned that this town was visited by Mahāvīra.[879] Tīsagutta proceeded to Āmalakappā from here.[880]

According to the tradition, Ushabhapura is another name for Rāyagiha (See Rāyagiha).

Usuyāra—a city

This town was located in Kuru.[881]

Its exact location is not known.

Uttarāpaha Northern division of India

Various customs and practices of this country are recorded in the Jain texts It is said that there was severe cold in this country and people having insufficient clothes kept themselves warm by burning fuel.[882] Even heat was unbearable here and there was a constant rainfall in this country,[883] accompanied by snow.[884]

It is stated that people in this country had their meals at night and so, if a monk, due to famine etc., was obliged to travel here, he had to follow the same practice.[885]

876 *Uttarā Ṭī*, 3 p 71a
877 *Bhā.* 16 5
878 See Supra p 259 *Āva Ṭī* p 284 a
879 *Āva* II 2 p 64
880 *Ibid* 7 p 67
881 *Uttarā Sū*, 14, also *Āva* II, p 64.
882 *Viśe cū*, Pī p 59
883 *Ibid*, 2 p 26 (MSS).
884 *Das cu.*, p 276
885 *Viśe cū*. Pī, p 139.

Corn was cultivated here by wells,[886] and barley-meals was a common food in this country It was customary here to burn the old grass fields so that the new grass may grow in its place [887]

As in Dakkhināvaha, a maternal uncle's daughter was not allowed to marry in this country (See Dakkhināvaha)

Uttarāpatha was known for *dhammacakka*[888] (religious wheel) and was visited by Vairasāmī It is said that at that time a famine had broken out in this country and all roads were blocked [889] Uttarāpatha was also frequented by the sage Dīvāyana, who reached here from Bāravai [890] Uttarāpatha was known for its horses.[891]

Originally, two great trade routes both Uttarāpatha and Dakkhināpatha lent their names to the regions through which they passed It is in this sense that the districts of Kamsa and Uttaramadhurā, which lay on the northern high road, are included in Uttarāpatha and that Avanti, which lay on the southern high road, is included in Dakkhināpatha [892]

Uttaravācāla

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Dakkhinavācāla and proceeded to Seyaviyā. (See Dakkhinavācāla)

Its exact situation is not known.

Vācāla

(See Dakkhinavācāla)

Vaccha (Matsya)—a kingdom

Vaccha or Matsya was included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Vairāda as its capital

The Matsya country comprises the modern territory of Alwar. The capital of Matsya country was Virātanagara or Vairāta, so called because it was the capital of Virāta, the king of Matsya [893]

Vacchabhūmi (Vatsa)—a kingdom

Vaccha was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Kosambī as its capital. It is said that Ajjāsāḍha and his pupils sojourned in this country [894]

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886 *Brh Bhā* Vr 1 1239, *Nisī Cū*, Pī p 46
887 *Āva Cū* II p 297
888 *Brh Bhā* Vr 5 5824
889 *Āva Cū*, p 396
890 *Das cū*, p 41
891 *Uttarā Tī*, 9, p 141, also see *Vinaya*, III, p 6,
892 *G E B*, pp 48 ff, *P B. I*, p 367.
893 *C A G I*. p 702
894 *Uttarā cū*, 2, p. 87

It is described in Buddhist literature as Vamsā or Vatsā,[895] and is identified with the region near about Prayag[896]

Vādahānaga—country

It is mentioned that Karakandu converted the Cāṇḍālas of Vādahānaga to Brahmanism[897]

Vātadhānas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 35 8). Their country, Vātadhāna, was a part of the territory stretching from Pañcanada to the Ganges They inhabitated the country on the east side of Sutlej, southward from Ferozepore[898]

Vaddhamāna—a village

Vaddhamāna was another name for Atthiyagāma (See Atthiyagāma).

Vaddhamānapura—a city

It is mentioned that the fourteenth *Titthayara* received his first alms here[899]

This town was visited by Mahāvīra There was a garden here named Vijayavaddhamāna with the shrine of Manibhadda *Jakkha*[900]

Vaidhamānapura is mentioned in the *Dīpavamsa.* Dr Law identifies it with modern Burdwan[901]

Vāhalīka

(*See Bāhala*).

Vaidisa—a city

It is mentioned that there was a sandalwood idol of Mahāvīra in Vaidisa which was visited by Mahāgiri This town was also visited by Suhatthi[902]

Vaidisa and Mahurā are mentioned as manufacturing centres of cloths[903] Vaidisa is included with Sindhu, where the holy scripture *Pannatti* was not to be studied[904]

895 *Kanhadīpāyana Jātaka* (IV, p 28)
896 *C A G I*, p 709
897 *Uttarā Tī*, 9, p 134
898 Pargitar, *Mārkendeya Pūrāna*, p 312 Also see Dr Motichand's article Geographical and Economic studies in the Mahābhārata, *J U P H. S.*, Vol XVI, Pt II, pp. 37 f,
899 *Āva Nir* 324
900 *Itnā* 10 p 56
901 *G E B*, p 69 Also see *G D.*, p. 25.
902 *Āva Nir*, 1278
903 *Āva Tī*, p 307, Haribhadra
904 *Sūya. cū.*, p 20.

Vedisa is mentioned in Bharhut inscriptions. According to Cunningham, Vedisa is the old name of Besanagar, a ruined city situated in the fork of the Bes or Vedisa river and the Betwa within two miles of Bhilsa.[905]

Vanāḍa, Vināḍa or *Verāḍa—a city*

Virāda was the capital of Matsya or Vaccha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is stated that the Koravas were stupefied (*thambhiya*) here by Ajjuna.[906]

Vairāta was the abode of the five Pāndavas during their twelve years' exile. The country was also famous for the valour of the people It is identified with Bairat in Jaipur state [907]

Vajja—a country

This country was included as one of the sixteen *Janapadas* [908]

The tribes of the Vajjis included according to Cunningham and Prof Rhys Davids, *atthakulas* or eight confederate clans among whom the Videhas, the Vajjis themselves, Licchavis and the Jñātrikas were the most important. The Vajjis like the Licchavis are often associated with the city of Vesāli, which was not only the capital of Licchavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy.[909]

The country of Vajji is roughly equivalent to the north of Darbhanga and the adjacent Nepal Terai.[910]

Vajjabhūmi

Vajjabhūmi was a part of Lādha, a non-Āryan country, where Mahāvīra is stated to have undergone extreme pains The inhabitants of this place, on account of taking coarse meals, were of furious nature, who set dogs upon Mahāvīra to bite him. The Lord is stated to have arrived here from Rāyagiha and proceeded to Siddhatthapura [911] (See Lādha).

It may be identified with modern Birbhum.

Valabhī—a city

It is mentioned that Jain monks assembled here and put the Jain canons in order.[912]

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905 *G E B*, p 35
906 *Sūya. cū*, p 355
907 *J U P H S*, Vol XV, Pt II, p 31
908 The *Bhagavatī* (7 9) refers to the great battle that took place between Kūṇika and Ceḍaga Mahāvīra predicted that Vajjividehaputta would win and the eighteen confederate kings of Kāsī and Kosala would be defeated Abhayadeva explains the word vajji in the sense of Indra (*vajri=Indrah*) which is incorrect.
909 *G E B.* p 12
910 *C.A G.I*, p. 718
911 See Supra, p 260.
912 See Supra, Section I.

Valabhī or Balabhī included the whole of peninsula and the district of Broach and Surat Valabhī is represented by the ruins at Wala, eighteen miles north-east of Bhavnagar.[913]

Vāṇiyagāma—a village

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Pedhalagāma and proceeded to Subhoma.[914]

Its exact situation is not known.

Vanavāsī—a city

It is said that Jiyasattu, the grandson of Jarākumāra, ruled here.[915]

Banavāsī is referred to as a place where Asoka sent his missionaries It was one of the capitals of the Kadambas Banavāsī lay on the banks of the Varadā river, in Sirsi Taluka, North Kanara district.[916]

Vanga or *Banga—a country*

Vanga was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Tāmalitti as its capital. It was included among the sixteen countries.

Vanga is identical with modern Eastern Bengal. It did not stand as a name for the entire province as it does now [917]

Vāṇiyagāma—a city

Vāniyagāma was visited by Mahāvīra very frequently,[918] and he is said to have passed twelve rainy seasons in Vesāli and this place.[919]

There were many adherents of Mahāvīra in Vāniyagāma, Ānanda being chief amongst them [920]

Vāniyagāma is identified with Baniya, a village near Basarah in Muzaffarpur [921]

Varadā—a river

It is stated on the bank of this river the word '*hale*' was used in addressing people.[922]

Varadā is referred to in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*.[923]

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913 *C.A G I* p 697
914 See Supra, p 260
915 *Bṛh Bhā* 4. 5255 f; *Nisī cū*, 8, p 502; also mentioned in the ***Mahābhārata***, VI 9. 58
916 *C A G I*, p 744.
917 *G E B* p 68
918 See *Āva* Nir. 496, also *Dasa*. 5, p. 141; *Vyā*. 2, p. 12.
919 See Supra, p 261.
920 *Uvā*. 1, also *Bhag*. 11. 11; 18. 10.
921 *G D.*, p 107
922 *Das. Cu*, p. 250.
923 P. 89t.

Varadā is the river of Southern India, a tributary to the Tungabhadra.[924]

Varadāma—a holy place

Varadāma was counted among the holy places (See Khaṇḍappavāya; Magadha : Pabhāsa)

Varadāma is mentioned as a holy place in the *Mahābhārata* (III 80. 65); it was situated near Dvārakā

Varaṇā or *Varuṇā—a country*

It was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Accha as its capital (See Accha). Vārana (Cārana?) is mentioned as a *gaṇa* of the Jain *Śramaṇas* in the *Kalpasūtra* (8, p 230).

Varaṇā was known by the name of Uccānagara which is identical with the modern town of Bulandashahar in U P.[925] The dictionary *Fan Fan yu* has preserved an account that the monk Fa-chung, during the course of his travels in India (424-453), passed by the town of Varuṇa in his journey from Nagarahāra to Vaidiśa.[926]

Even now Bulandashahar is known as Baran

Vārāṇasī—a city

Vārāṇasī was the capital of Kāsī, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It was included among the ten capitals

Vārāṇasī was the birthplace of the seventh and the twenty third *Tīrthaṅkaras*.[927] Vārāṇasī was visited by Mahāvīra, who is said to have arrived here from Kosambī and proceeded to Rāyagiha.[928] It was also frequented by Gosāla.[929] The *Vānapattha* mendicants are stated to have put up here on the bank of the Ganges.[930]

In the Buddhist world Kapailavatthu, Bārāṇasī and Kusīnāra were three places of pilgrimage.[931]

It is identified with modern Benares

Vārattapura—a city

It is stated that monk Dharmaghoṣa travelled to this place from Rāyagiha.[932]

It is not identified.

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924 *Imp. Gaz.* Vol XIII, p 463.
925 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol I, 1892, p. 379
926 The Geog contents of the Mahāmāyūrī, Dr. Sylvain Levi, Trans by V. S Agrawala, Journal, *U. P. H. S*, Vol XV, Pt II *Vārana* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhā* (XIV. 71. 2)
927 *Āva Nir.*, 382, 384 and 1302.
928 *Ibid.*, 518.
929 *Bhag.* 15.
930 *Niryā.* 3. 3.
931 *Dīgha*. Vol II, Mahāparinibbānasutta.
932 *Āva. cū.*, II, p. 199, *Piṇḍa. Ṭī.*, 628, p. 169.

(1) *Vasantapura—a village*

This village was situated in Magadha.[933]
It may be identified with the village Basantapur in Purnea district.[934]

(2) *Vasantapura—a city*

It is said that king Jiyasattu ruled here with his queen Dhāriṇī;[935] a congregation (*gaccha*) of the monks is stated to have been moving about in this town.[936]
It is not identifiable.

Vattā—a country

(See Māsa)

Vatthagā—a river

This river flowed between Kosambī and Ujjeṇī. Girimukha was a mountain on the bank of this river (See Girimuha,[937] also Elakacchapura).
Probably Vatthagā and Vettavatī are identical and may be identified with Betwa, a river in Bundelkhand which rises in Bhopal State.[938]

Vayagāma—a village

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Siddhatthapura and proceeded to Ālambhiyā.[939]
It is not identifiable.

Vebhāragiri—a mountain

This mountain lay at the outskirts of Rāyagiha near Nālandā.[940] A detailed description of Vebhāra is given in the *Nāyādhammakahā*,[941] where queen Dhārini is said to have gone to accomplish her pregnancy longing. Various monks and ascetics are described to have practised penance and achieved their goal here.[942] Near this mountain was situated the spring known as Mahātavovatīrappabha (See Mahātavovatīrappabha)
According to the *Vuddhatīrthakalpa*, the eleven *gaṇadharas* submitted to *pādopagamana* and attained salvation here.[943]
It is one of the five hills of Rājagrha.[944]

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933 *Sūya Nir.* II 6. 100f.
934 See *District Gaz. Purnea*, p. 185. XXVI, 1911.
935 *Ogh. Nir.* 449, p. 158. *Ā.a. cū*, p. 534.
936 *Anu Su Ṭi.*, p. 18 (Hari.).
937 *Marana*, 475. p. 128a, also *Ā.a. cū.*, II, p. 100.
938 *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. II, p. 334.
939 See Supra, p. 260.
940 *Bhag.* 2. 5; 3. 4.
941 1, pp. 10, 18.
942 *Maraṇa* 444, p. 126a; *Uttarā. cū.*, p. 57.
943 p. 22.
944 *C.A.G.I.*, p. 530.

Vesāli—a city

Kuṇḍapura, a suburb of Vesāli, was the birthplace of Mahāvīra, and hence he is called as Vesāliya. Vesāli was the centre of activities of Mahāvīra, who visited it frequently and passed twelve rainy seasons there.[945]

At the time of Buddha, Vesāli was a very large city, rich and prosperous, crowded with people with abundant food. The courtesan Ambapāli, who was famous for her beauty, helped in large measure in making the city prosperous.[946]

Vaisāli is identical with modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar.[947]

Vetariṇī—a river

This river is referred to in the *Sūyagaḍaṅga cūrṇi*[948] and the *Uttarādhyayana*.[949]

There were several rivers of this name. One in Orissa is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I 181 22). It is again identified with the river Dantura which rises near Nasik and is in the north of Bassein. It is further identified with a river in Gharwal on the road between Kedāra and Badrinātha.[950]

Vettavatī—a river

Cārudatta is said to have crossed this river by the cane creeper.[951]

From the Jātakas we learn that the city of Vettavatī was on the banks of the river of Vettavatī. It is the river Betwa in the kingdom of Bhopal, an affluent of the Jumna, on which stands Bhilsa or the ancient Vidiśā.[952]

Veyāli—a village

It is referred to in the *Āvaśyaka cūrṇi*.[953]

Its location is not known.

Veyaḍḍhagiri—a mountain

It is said that the mountain of Veyaḍḍha lay near the mountain of Gandhamādanavakkhāra in Avaravideha[954] and is said to have been frequented by the *Vijjāharas*.[955]

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945 See Supra, p. 261 f
946 *Mahāvagga*, p 268.
947 Law, G. *Essays*, pp 17 f, *C.A.G.I.*, p 507.
948 p 159
949 19 59, also see *Majjhima*, III, p. 185; *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, 53. 20.
950 *G E B*, p 40.
951 *Sūya. cū.*, p. 239.
952 *G.E.B.*, p. 40.
953 II, p. 94.
954 *Āva. cū*, p. 165.
955 Cf. *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 22, p. 277.

According to Hemacandra's *Trisastiśalākāpurusacarita*,[956] Vaitāḍhya mountain was four hundred miles long touching the rivers Gangā and Sindhu on either side. It was given as dominion to Nami and Vinami by Dharanendra, the protecting deity of the first *Tīrthankara*, Ādinātha. Nami occupied the southern Vaitāḍhya and founded fifty cities including Jayantī and Rathanūpuracakravāla and Vinami occupied the northern Vaitāḍhya and similarly founded another fifty towns.

It is not identifiable.

Veyaraī—a river

This river flowed near the village Atthiyagāma (See Atthiyagāma). It is perhaps the same as Gandak.[957]

Vibhāsā—a river

This river was one of the great tributaries of the Sindhu.[958]

It is the same as Vipāśa of the *Mahābhārata* (I. 193. 6) and is identified with Bias.[959]

Vibhela or *Vebhela—a settlement*

This Sannivesa was situated at the foot of the Viñjhagiri.[960]

It is not identified.

Vidarbha—a country

This country is referred to in the *Suyagadanga cūrṇi*.[961]

Vidarbha corresponds to the modern Berar.[962]

Videha—a country

It was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Mihilā as its capital.

Tisalā, the mother of Mahāvīra, was known as Videhadinnā, a native of Videha.[963] Similarly, Kūnika was known as Videhaputta, the son of Cellanā, a native of Videha.[964]

Videha is identical with ancient Tribhukti, modern Tirhut.[965]

Vidisā—a river

It is said that the city Vaidisa was located near this river.[966]

Vidisā is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 9. 22).

It is identified with the river Bes near Bhilsa.[967]

956 p. 173 ff.
957 Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. II, p. 9.
958 See Supra, p. 276.
959 *G E B*, p. 38.
960 *Bhag*, 3. 2, also *Niryā* 3. 4.
961 p. 240.
962 *G D*, p. 38.
963 *Kalpa Sū*, 5. 109.
964 *Bhag* 7. 9.
965 *G E B*, p. 30, cf *Vividha.*, p. 32.
966 *Anu sū*, 30, p. 137.
967 *G E B*, p. 35.

Viibhaya—a city

This city was the capital of Sindhu Sovīra, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is also known as Kumbhakārapakkheva (See Kumbhakārapakkheva)

It may be identified with Bhera in the Punjab. (See Kumbhakārapakkheva)

Vijayapura—a city

It is mentioned that the fifth *Titthayara* received his first alms here [968] This city is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra [969]

Probably it may be identified with Vijayanagar which is situated on the bank of the Ganges in southern Bengal [970]

Vijayavaddhamāna—a city

This town was situated in south-east of Sayaduvāra. It extended over five hundred villages over which the district-officer Ikkāi ruled. (See Sayaduvāra)

Its situation is not known

Vinītā—a city

It is mentioned that at the time of the coronation ceremony of Usabha, the citizens sprinkled water over his feet The Indra remarked at that time that the citizens were well behaved (*vinītā*) and hence this city came to be known as Vinītā [971] Vinītā was the birthplace of the first and the fourth *Titthayaras* [972]

According to the commentary on the *Āvaśyaka*,[973] Vinītā was another name for Ayodhyā.

Viñjha—a mountain

This mountain lay on the southern bank of the Ganges [974] The Vindhya forest was noted for its elephants [975]

It is the same as the Vindhya range. The celebrated temple of Vinduvāsinī is situated on a part of the hills near Mirzapur.[976]

Vīramhāna

This place was situated at a distance of twelve *yojanas* from Ujjeni on the way to Bennāyaḍa.[977]

Its exact situation is not known.

968 *Āva Nir*, 323
969 *Vivā* II, 4 p, 64
970 *G D* p 36
971 *Āva Nir* 200.
972 *Ibid*, 382
973 p 244a See also *T S P.*, p 149 f.
974 *Nāyā.*, I, p 37.
975 *Pinda Nir*, *Tī*, 83, p 31.
976 *G D*, p 37.
977 *Uttarā Ṭī.*, 4, p. 62.

Vīrapura—a city

The twenty first *Titthayara* received his first alms here.[978] This town is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra.[979]

Its precise situation remains unknown.

Visāhā—a city

Mahāvīra is said to have visited this town.[980]

Cunningham identifies it with Ayodhyā [981]

Vitatthā—a river

This river was one of the great tributaries of the Sindhu.[982]

The Pali name of Vitattha is Vitamsa. It is the river Jhelum.[983]

Viula—a mountain

The mountain Viula lay in Rāyagiha. It was considered a holy place where a number of monks practised penance and are stated to have attained liberation.[984]

According to Pali literature, Vepulla is one of the five peaks near Rājagiha ; this was the highest of them.[985] It is also known as Pācīnavamsa, Vankaka and Supassa.[986]

978 *Āva Nir*, 326.
979 *Vivā*, II, 3, p 64.
980 *Bhag* 18. 2
981 *C A G I*, p 460
982 See Supra, p 276.
983 *G E B*, p 55
984 *Nāya*, 1, p 45 f; *Bhag*. 2. 1, *Anta*. 6, pp. 39, 42 f.
985 *Samyutta* I, p 67
986 *Ibid*, II, p. 190 f.

II

This section consists of the list of the non-Āryan countries mentioned in the Jain texts, which includes mainly the list of non-Āryan tribes and the foreign female slaves As already referred to, these lists have become so corrupt that it is very difficult to identify the place-names and the names of the tribes. For instance, Aravāga has changed into Akkhāge, Cillala into Villala, Maccha into Vaccha and Cīna has disappeared altogether or its name is cancealed under that of another people However, we have tried to identify the place-names wherever possible.[1]

Ābhāsiya

Abhīsās were known to the *Mahābhārata* (VIII. 91. 10)

Its location is not identified.

Ambada[2]

Ambastha is mentioned in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (14 7)

According to Dr Pargitar, the Ambasthas occupied the country between Ambala and the Sutlej with the Sivis on their east and south and the Trigartas on their north-west.[3]

Aṇakkha (or *Nakkha*) ?

Its exact situation remains unknown.

Andha

(*See Supra*).

Ārabaka

The maid-servants Ārabakīs were brought from here (see also Aṅga)

It is mentioned in Alexander's invasion on the river Arabios in southern Baluchistan.[4]

Ārosa or *Harasa*?

If it is Kārūṣa, it may correspond to the country of Baghelkhand.[5]

Ayyala or *Ajjhala* or *jalla*

Its site is unknown

Babbara

The maid-servants Babbarīs were brought from this country (also see Aṅga).

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[1] The following texts may be studied for references *Bhag* 3. 2, *Panha*, 1, p 13a, *Panna* 1 37, *Sūya* Tī, 5 1, p 122a, *Uttarā Tī*, 10, p 161a, *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, p 445a, also *Nāyā* 1, p 21, *Rāya Sū*, 210, *Ovā Sū*, 33, *Jambu. Sū* 43, p 185, *Nisī cū*, 8, p 523

[2] In the *Pannavanā* (1, p 37) Ambaṭṭhas are, however, included among the Āryans

[3] *Mārk Purāna*, p 379, also see McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p 155 n Also Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p 158

[4] McCrindle's *The Invasion of India*, p 167.

[5] *Bharat bhūmi aur uske nivāsī*, p 205,

The Epics and the Purānas mention the Barbaras as a northern or north-western people. The country of the Barbaras was in north-west frontier of India, and it stretched up to the Arabian sea[6] It is the Barbaricum or Barbaricon emporium mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea[7]

Bāhalīka

(See *Bāhalī*).

Bandhuya

Its exact situation is not known.

Bausa or *Paosa*

The maid-servants, known as Bausīs, were brought from here. It cannot be identified.

Bhaḍaga

The Bhadrakas appear to have been situated on the west bank of the Jumna, somewhere between Delhi and Mathura.[8]

Bhilla

Bhil was a pre-Āryan race inhabiting the Vindhya, Satpura and the Satmala or the Ajanta Hills The Bhils were the chief of the large group of tribes that at one time held most of the country now distributed among the provinces of Mewar, Malwa, Khandesh and Gujerat.[9]

Bhuttua

Probably it may be identified with Bhotiyas (from Bhot, the corrupt form of Bod or Tibet), who are of Tibetan origin.[10]

Cilāya or *Cilāyaloga*

The maid-servants known as Cilātikās were brought from here (See also Anga)

The Cilāyas were also known by the name of Āvāda. They resided in the north and possessed of a large number of mansions, conches, seats, vehicles, slaves, cattle and much gold and silver They were rich, arrogant, powerful and fiery and proficient in the art of fighting. They are said to have fought with Bharata and defeated his forces.[11]

The place near Assam and Sylhet was called the country of Kirāta. Its capital was Tripura which is identical with modern Tipara.[12]

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6 *C.A G I*, p 693
7 Law. *Tribes in Ancient India*, p 92
8 Pargiter *Mārkandeya*, p 309
9 *Imp Gazetteer*, Under Bhil', see also *The Tribes and Castes of the C. P. of India*, by Russel, and Hiralal Vol 2, pp. 278 ff; *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. III, pp. 51 ff.
10 *Imp Gaz.*, II
11 *Jambu*, 50, p 231.
12 *G. D*, p. 100.

Cillala

Perhaps it may be the same as Cilāya.

Cīna

Cīna was known for soft cloth known as *cīnāmsuya*[13]

Cīna comprised the country of Tibet along with the whole range of Himalayas In the *Mahābhārata* they are always spoken of with respect and admiration[14]

Cucūlika or *Sūyali*

Cūlikas or Sūlikas are mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* as a people through whose country flowed the river Cakshu or perhaps Oxus ; if so, the Śūlikas would be a people on the Oxus in Turkestan.[15]

Cuñcuka

It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (XIII. 146. 17) as well as the *Bṛhatsamhitā*[16]

According to Sylvain Lévi, this country is situated near Gazipur , he identifies it with Cenchu of Hiuen Tsang.[17]

Damila (*Dravīḍa*)

(See Supra)

Dhorukına

The maid-servants known as Dhorukinī were brought from this country

Its situation is not known

Ḍomba

The Dombas are mentioned among despised class in the Jain texts.[18]

The Dombas are mentioned in the *Rājataraṅginī*[19] It was a caste of degraded musicians and may be regarded as representing early inhabitants of northern India.[20]

Ḍombalaga

It may be the same as Ḍomba

Gandhavāha or *Gandhahāraga* or *Gandhāra*.

Gandhārakas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.[21] (See also Gandhāra).

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13 *Bṛh Bhā.*, 2 3662 , *Anu Sū* , 37, p 30.
14 Pargitar, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, p 319.
15 *Ibid* , p 323
16 14 18.
17 *Memorial Sylvain Levi* pp 242-3, Paris, 1937.
18 *Vya Bhā* 3 92 . *Visi cū* 11, p. 747.
19 Vol I, V. 359, 389-396
20 *Census India*, 1931, Vol I, Pt. I, p. 364.
21 Sorenson, *Index to Mahābhārata*, p. 291.

Gayakanna

Its exact situation is not known.

Goda

If it is Gonda, it may be identified with Gond, the principal tribe of the Dravidian family, and perhaps the most important of the non-Aryan forest tribe in India The Gonds are found in a large proportion in the Central Provinces.[22]

Godhora or *Godhodamba* or *Godhāi*

The Godhas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.[23]

Hayakanna

Its location is not identifiable.

Hayamuha or *Turugamukha*

Asvamukhas are mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa* as dwelling north of the Himalayas [24]

Hūṇa

Hūṇas were known for their oppression.[25]

Hūṇas are mentioned as an outside people to the north along with Cīnas, etc In the *Raghuvamśa*, they are placed to the northmost part of the Indus [26]

Īsāna

The maid-servants known as Īsāniyās were brought from here. Its location is not known.

Jalla or *Ajjahala*

(See Ayvala)

Javana

(See Supra)

Kāka or *Kāya*

The Kākas are mentioned in the Mahābhārata.[27]
(See Supra).

Kamboya

(See Supra).

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22 See Russel and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol III, p. 41 ff; *Census of India*, 1931, Vol I, Pt III, pp 75 ff

23 Sorensen *ibid*, p 309

24 Pargitar, *Mārk* p 368

25 *Āva cū.*, II p 248.

26 Pargitar, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, p. 370.

27 VI 9· 64

Kanaka

Kanaka is mentioned in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.[28] Dey identifies the region of Kanaka with Travancore.[29]

Kekaya

(See Supra)

Kharamuha

It remains unidentified.

Khasa

The Khasas are identical with the present Khākha tribe to which most of the petty chiefs in the Vitasta valley, below Kashmir and in the neighbouring hills, belong.[30]

Khāsiya

Khasis are mentioned as an aboriginal tribe in Assam[31] and the Kumaun Division

Koṅka

It location cannot be traced.

Konkanaga

(See supra under Konkaṇa).

Kuhuna

Kuhaka Kuhuka or Kuhu are mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* as a people on the line of the Indus[32]

Kulakkha

The Kulatthas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[33] and in *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa* as a people of the north of India.[34]

Lāsika or *Lhāsiya*

The female slaves known as Lāsikas were brought from here.

Can this tribe be identified with the Nasikyas of the Purāṇas? They were the people of ancient Nāsika.[35]

Lausa or *Laosa*

The maid-servants known as Lausikās were brought from here. It is not identifiable.

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28 14. 21

29 *G D*, p 88

30 *Rājatarangini* Vol II. A Stein, p 430

31 See *Imp Gaz* under Khasi, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol I, Pt III, pp 24 ff.

32 P. 324.

33 VI. 9. 66.

34 Pargitar, *Mārk.*, p. 375.

35 Law. *Tribes*, p. 179.

Maggara or *Mahuara*

The Margaras are mentioned in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*[36] and the Mardrakas in the *Mahābhārata*.[37]

Malaya

Along with Sauvīras and Saindhavas, the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (x. vii 10) mentions the Hūnas (or Kūnas) and Malayas (or Śalvas) [38]

Marahatta

(See Supra)

Maruya

(See Supra).

Māsa or *Pāsa*

It cannot be identified.

Meda

Meda is described as a tribe of the *mlecchas* which used to hunt animals day and night with bow and arrow [39]

Meda is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the name of a low caste [40] They were the sea-faring people of the Makrān coast [41]

Miṇḍhiyamuha

Its exact situation remains unknown.

Moṇdha

Mundas were a large Dravidian tribe in Chota Nagpur [42]

Muruṇda.

The maid-servants known as Murundīs were brought from here Hemacandra gives Lampāka as another name for Muruṇḍa. Muruṇḍa is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. Cunningham suggests that perhaps Murundas are the same as Mundas, one of the aboriginal tribes of East India [43]

Dr Stein Konow holds that Murunda is the later form of a Śaka meaning 'lord" or "master" ; the term Śaka-Murunda possibly stands, therefore, for these Saka lords or chieftains who were ruling in the regions of Surāṣṭra and Ujjain at the time of Samudragupta.[44]

36 14 18
37 Sorenson, *op. cit*, p 451.
38 *Mārkaṇḍeya* P, p 315
39 *Bṛh. Bhā.* I 2766
40 *Index to Mahābhārata* p 477
41 H Risley, *The People of India, Calcutta*, 1908, p. 141.
42 Pargitar, *Mārk Purāṇa*, p 329
43 *C.A.G.I.*, p. 582.
44 *Law, Tribe* , p. 94 n.

Mutthiya

Can they be identified with Mūtibas of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, who are mentioned along with the Andhras, Pulindas and Śavaras. Perhaps they were located in the south.[45]

Nehura or *Nedura*

Its exact situation is unidentifiable.

Niṇṇaga

Niṇhaiyā is included among the eighteen kinds of *livis* described in the *Samavāyāṅga* (See Supra).

Its location is not known.

Pakkaṇiya or *Pakkanaya*

The Pakkaṇiyas were the maid-servants brought from this country.

Pakkaṇiyas are perhaps the same as the Pareikanioi of Herodotus. This is also implied as a counter example to Praskanva in Sūtra (6. 1. 153) and is stated by the Kāśikā to have been the name of a country The Pareikanioi, who are said to have formed a part of the empire of Darius, may be identified as the ancient inhabitants of modern Ferghana Geographically Ferghana is situated immediately to the north of Pamir or ancient Kamboja[46]

Pakkhali, *Pukkhali* or *Pakkaṇi*

The maid-servants, known as Pakkaṇīs, were also brought from here. This country was famous for fine horses. According to Haribhadra, Pakkhali is the same as Vāhlīka.[47]

Pallhava

(See Supra).

Pārasa

(See Supra).

Pulinda

The maid-servants known as **Pulindīs** were brought from here. Pulindī was also known as a script. (See Supra).

According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (IV. 22), the kingdom of the Pulindas was situated amidst the Vindhyas on the route which goes from Kauśāmbī to Ujjayini.[48]

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45 *Ibid*, p 173

46 Dr. V S Agrawala *J U P H S*, Vol. 16, pt. I. p 28.

47 *Das. Ti.*, 6.

48 See Sylvain Lévi, *Pre-Aryan and Dravidian in India*, pp 88-91.

Rāma, *Roma*, *Romaśa* or *Romaya* or *Romaka* or *Romapāsa* or *Rumā viṣaya*

Roma was known for clean (*amila*) cloth, and *rumā* salt.[49]

Romaka is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* H. E. Wilson identifies Ruma with Sāmbhar, and as *rauma* means "salt," it is probable that the term may have been applied to the Sāmbhar lake in Rajputana, as well as to the Salt-Range of hills in the Punjab.[50]

Ramadha

Ramathas are also mentioned in the *Mahābha*. (II. 36. 12)

According to Dr Sylvain Lévi, Ramatha should be located between Ghazni (Jāguda) and Wakhan (Vokkāna) Like Jāguḍa, Ramatha was *par excellence* the country producing *hingu* (asafoetida).[51]

Ruru or *Bharu* or *Bhamaruya*

Its location is not known

Sabara

The maid-servants known as Sabarīs were brought from here.

The Śavaras and Pulindas are described in the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* as the inhabitants of Deccan. They are usually identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabarae of Ptolemy, and are probably represented by the Savaralu or the Sauras of the Vizagapattam Hills and the Savaris of the Gwalior territory [52]

Saga

Tartery, including Turkestan in Central Asia, is the country of the Śakas According to the Greek geographers, the Śakas lived to the east of Sogdiana now called the Pamir, the country between Bokhara and Samarqand. According to Strabo, the country lying to the east of the Caspian Sea was called Scythia.[53]

Sīhala

See Supra.

Taṅkana

(See Supra).

Tittiya

Taittirikas are mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa*[54] as well as the *Mahābhārata* [55]

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49 Nis cū 7, p 167, *Das cū* 3, p. 115
50 *C A G I*, p. 181
51 *Journal of the U P Historical Society*, Vol XV, Pt. II, p 49
52 *P H A I*, p. 79.
53 *G D*, p. 172
54 CXIII 49. Pargitar, *Mārk. Purāṇa*, p. 339.
55 VI. 50-51.

Uḍḍa

It is same as Odra or Orissa. According to the *Brahmapurāṇa*, Odra extended northwards to Vraja maṇḍala or Jajpur.[56]

Vokkasa

Vokkasa or Bokkasa is included among the mixed castes An offspring of Nisāda father and Ambaṭṭha mother was called a Bokkssa.[57]

Vokkaṇa or *Pokkaṇa*

Pakkaṇa is referred to in the *Bṛhatkolpa Bhāsya*[58]

Vokkāṇa is mentioned in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[59] as well as in the *Divyāvadāna*.[60]

According to Dr. **Sylvain Lévi**, Vokkāṇa is identified with Wakhan[61]

56 *G. D.*, p. 42.
57 *Ācā Vir*. 26 ; *Manu*. X. 18
58 3. 4523.
59 14. 20.
60 XXXVII, p. 580
61 *J U.P.H.S.*, Vol. XV, Pt. II, p. 49.

SECTION VI

SOME IMPORTANT KINGS AND DYNASTIES

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I SIXTY THREE GREAT MEN

CHAPTER II KINGS AND RULERS

INTRODUCTION

It may be noted that the chronological side of the Jain Canons is very weak and so a systematic chronological framework cannot be expected from such a class of work. As a matter of fact, the Jain texts are full of legendary traditions interspersed with loose facts here and there, which were narrated by the religious teachers to enliven their sermons and to illustrate their doctrines. Like Buddhist kings and monarchs, here also we notice the kings and emperors renouncing the world and attaining salvation on some mountain after severe penance. Very often we meet king Jiyasattu in these legends which seems to be a common designation of kings like Bambhadatta of the Buddhists or the epithet Devānāmpiya of a later age.

Jain texts mention a number of kings and rulers who were contemporaries of Mahāvīra, but it should be noted that except for a few well-known kings such as Śreṇika, Kūṇika, Pradyota and Udayana, none of them is identified. We know nothing even about such a powerful king as Cetaka, who was followed of eighteen republican kings of Kāsi and Kosala and a staunch follower of Jain religion. Similarly, nothing is heard about Dadhivāhana of Campā, Dasannabhadda of Dasanna and Udāyana (Rudrāyana of the Buddhists) of Vībhaya so well-known in the Jain Canons. The last mentioned king is described as one of the eight chief kings[1] ordained by Lord Mahāvīra himself. In the same way other contemporary kings[2] of Mahāvīra are unidentified so far, and their historicity is in absolute darkness.

Regarding the kings and princes, another point which should be noted is that most of the notable rulers are equally claimed by Jains and Buddhists[3] as followers of their respective faith. This only proves that the rulers in ancient India showed uniform courtesy towards religious teachers of different sects, and people in general were not so sectarian as we notice in later ages.[4]

Wherever possible with the help derived from Brahmanic and Buddhist traditions, we have tried to arrange the loose and varied facts embodied in the Jain Canons. As in the previous chapter, in the absence of chronology, we have felt it advisable to arrange the kings in alphabetical order along with their descriptions as given in the Jain Canons.

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1 The other kings were Eneyaka, Virangaya, Vīrayasa, Sañjaya, Seya, Siva and Sankh (*Thā* 8 621). Besides, Dasannabhadda (*Āva cū*., p 476) and Pasannacanda (*ibid*, p 455f) are mentioned among other rulers who joined the ascetic order of Mahāvīra.

2 Some of these kings are Adīnasattu (*Vivā*, II 1, p 59), Hatthivāla (*Kalpa sū* 5 123) Mittanandi (*Vivā*, II, 10 p 64-2), Sirīdāma (*Vivā*, 6, p 36), Soriyadatta (*Vivā*, 8, p 45f), Vāsavadatta (*Vivā* II p 64) and Vijaya (*Vivā* 1, p 2)

3 Cf for instance that Seniya Bimbasāra of Magadha up to the day of his death was given to the praises of Buddha, (*Dīgh* II p 202). Similarly it is mentioned that Abhayarājakumāra asked Buddha to accept him as his disciple and embraced the Master's faith, Abhayarājakumārasutta *Majjhima*. In the same way Ānanda is said to have preached his sermons to Udayana and his queens (*Cullavagga*, XI 1 13)

4 Cf the equal reception given to Thāvaccāputta, a Jain monk, and the mendicant Suya by the citizens of Sogandhiyā (*Nāyā* 5 p 73)

CHAPTER I

THE SIXTY THREE GREAT MEN .

According to Jains, there are two cycles (*kalpa*) each having two eras, the *Avasarpinī* and *Utsarpinī*. In the former, *dharma* goes on decreasing until in the end chaos and confusion reign over the earth, whereas in the latter there is an evergrowing evolution of *dharma*. Each of these eras are further divided into six ages (*kālas*), *viz*., (1) *Susamāsusamā* (the period of great happiness), (2) *Susamā* (the period of happiness), (3) *Susamādusamā* (the period of happiness and sorrow), (4) *Dusamāsusamā* (the period of sorrow and happiness), (5) *Dusamā* (the period of sorrow) and (6) *Dusamādusamā* (the period of great sorrow).

The first age *Susamāsusamā* is described as the happiest age when the children born were always twins, a boy and a girl, and their parents died immediately after their birth. In this millenial age all needs were supplied by the ten desire-yielding trees (*kalpavrksas*) The worst of all is said to have been the last age, named *Dusamādusamā*. It is stated that during this period terrific storms would blow, there would be dust all over, the clouds would shower poisonous water and except the mountain, Veyaḍḍha, and the rivers Gaṅgā and Sindhu, everything else would perish and the whole earth would be blazing with fire. The people would live during this period in the caves would catch fish and tortoises and would satisfy their hunger with flesh and dead bodies.[1]

THE TWENTY FOUR TĪRTHAṄKARAS

The earliest reference to the twenty four *Tīrthaṅkaras* is made in the *Samavāya*, *Kalpasūtra* and the *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*.[2] It is mentioned that Usabha was born in the third age while the remaining twenty three *Tīrthankaras*, eleven *Cakravartins*, nine *Baladevas*, and nine *Vāsudevas* and *Prativāsudevas* in the fourth.

Usabha, who is known as the first king, the first monk, the first *Jina* and the first *Tīrthankara*, is said to have been born in Ikkhāgabhūmi (Ayodhyā) in the house of Nābhi by his queen Marudevī. It is stated that when Usabha was born, Indra approached king Nābhi with a sugarcane and Usabha stretched his hand to take it, and thus was formed the dynasty of Ikkhāgu.

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1 See *Jambu. Sū*. 18-10.

2 They are Usabha Ajiya, Sambhava Abhinandana, Sumai, Paumappabha, Supāsa, Candappaha, Suvihi, Pupphadanta, Sīyala, Sejjamsa, Vāsupujja, Vimala, Ananta, Dhamma, Santi, Kunthu, Ara, Malli, Munisuvvaya, Nami, Ariṭṭhanemi, Pāsa and Vaddhamāna, *Sama. Sū* 24, *Kalp*. chs. 6 and 7; *Āva. Nir*.-369ff, also cf. Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

In course of time, Usabha married his own sisters, Sumangalā and Sunandā. The former bore a twin, named Bharata and Bambhī and the latter another pair named Bāhubali and Sundarī When Usabha ascended the throne of Vinītā, he is said to have formed four corporations (*ganas*), *viz*, Uggas, Bhogas, Rāinnas and Khattiyas

It is mentioned that during that period people ate uncooked roots and Usabha taught them cooking in earthen vessels At this time arose the potters, blacksmiths, weavers, carpenters, and barbers. Further, Usabha is said to have taught alphabets to Bambhī, arithmetic to Sundarī, *rūpakamma* (sculpture) to Bharata and *cittakamma* (painting) to Bāhubali. Thus came into existence the seventy two arts for men, sixty four for women and one hundred general arts (*sippa*) It was during this period that the *Nāgayajña*, the *Indamaha*, the institution of marriage, and the building of the *thūbhas* (mounds) as memorials to the dead were promulgated

Usabha is said to have reigned for countless number of years, and then retired in favour of Bharata, who was declared as the first universal monarch of Vinītā After taking to the ascetic life, Usabha is said to have travelled through a number of places He is said to have passed through the countries of Bahalī, Adamba and Illā and reached Hatthināpura where he was offered sugarcane by Sejjamsa, the grandson of Bāhubali Usabha is said to have attained omniscience in Purimatāla in the garden of Sagadamuha and attained salvation on the mountain Atthāvaya [3]

Malli is said to have been the nineteenth *Tīrthankara* of the Jains. It should be noticed that according to the Svetāmbaras, she was a female and according to the Digambaras a male It is stated that the kings Padibuddhi of Kosala, Candacchāya of Anga, Sankha of Kāsī, Ruppi of Kunāla, Adīnasattu of Kuru and Jiyasattu of Pañcāla waged war against Kumbhaga, the father of Malli.[4]

Nami, who was known as the royal sage (*rāyarisi*), was the twentieth *Tīrthankara* He was the son of Mayanarchā by Jugabāhu, who was stabbed to death by his brother At that time Mayanarchā was pregnant. She fled away out of fear and delivered her child in the forest Here the child was picked up by king Paumaraha of Mihilā, who handed it over to his queen In course of time, the king renounced the world and Nami was anointed on the throne After sometime Nami also joined the ascetic order [5] Nami is described as a contemporary of Karakandu, Dumuha and Naggai, who are referred to as four *Pratyeakabuddhas*. All of them are said to have renounced the world and reached Khiipaitthiya.[6]

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3 *Jambu Sū* 2 30-33 *Kalpa Sū* 7 205-228, *Āva Nir* 150ff *Āva. cū.* pp 135-182 *Vasu* pp 157-165, 185, also *T S P*, pp 100 ff,

4 *Nāyā* 8

5 *Uttarā. Sū* 9

6 *Ibid* 18. 46 Nami is identified with Janaka, the Brahmanic philosopher king of the *Mahābhārata*, who is known as Mahājanaka II in the Jātakas. According to the *Rāmāyana* and the Purānas, Nami was the founder of the royal family of Mithilā (*P.B.I.*, pp. 48ff, *P.H A.I*, p. 45, also *Caraka* 26, p. 665

Nemi or Aritthanemi was the twenty second *Tīrthaṅkara* He was the son of king Samuddavijaya of Soriyapura by his queen Sivā Kanha Vāsudeva is mentioned as Aritthanemi's cousin (see Kaṇha). It is said that Aritthanemi was to be married to Rāyamai, the daughter of Uggasena When he set out in his chariot for marriage, he heard the pathetic groans of the cattle which were kept together to be slaughtered for the dishes of the guests Aritthanemi felt very unhappy at this and immediately renounced the world He proceeded to the garden, Sahasambavaṇa, on the mountain Revaya and having practised asceticism, attained salvation Rāyamai also is said to have followed the foot-steps of her lord and attained salvation [7]

Then we come to Pārsva, the twenty third *Tīrthankara* He was born in Benares and attained salvation at Sammeya [8]

Mahāvīra, also known as Vaddhamāna or Nāyaputta,[9] was the last *Tīrthankara* of the Jains. He was the son of Siddhattha by his queen Tisalā and was born on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the moon in the month of *caitra*, in Khattiyakundaggāma Siddhattha, the father of Mahāvīra, also known as Sejjamsa or Jasamsa, belonged to the Kāsava *gotta* Mahāvīra's mother, Trisalā, belonged to the Vasittha *gotta* and was also known as Videhadinnā or Piikārinī Supāsa is described as Mahāvīra's patternal brother, Nandivaddhana his elder brother, Sudamsanā his sister, Jasoyā of the Kodinna *gotta* his wife, and Piyadamsanā, his daughter It is mentioned that Anojjā was given to Jamāli, who gave birth to Sesavai, also known as Jasavai [10]

Mahāvīra renounced the world when he was thirty years old It is said that for a little more than a year Mahāvīra went about with a robe and afterwards wandered naked. Leading a life of severe asceticism for over twelve years, he is said to have attained omniscience on the bank of the Ujjuvāliyā outside the city of Jambhiyagāma. Mahāvīra spent his last rainy season in Pāvā in the office of the survey-ministers (*rajjugasabhā*) of the king Hatthivāla and died on the fifteenth day of dark half of *kārtika* at the age of seventy two. The night Mahāvīra died, the eighteen confederate kings of Kāsī and Kosala are said to have observed *posaha* and made an illumination At the time of his death Mahāvīra is said to have preached fifty five discourses on the result of good deeds, the same number on the result of bad deeds and thirty six discourses on unasked questions [11]

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7 *Uttarā* 22

8 See Section I, ch I.

9 For other names see Schubring, *op cit.*, p 26 f

10 *Kalpa. Sū* 5 According to the Digambaras, however Mahāvīra was never conceived by Devānandā, he remained a bachelor and when he renounced the world his parents were living. (See Jinasena's *Harivaṃsa Purāṇa* ch II) However cf that the same work (36 8) mentions the *vivāhamangala* of Vīra with Yasodā

11 See *Kalpa. sū.*, chs, 1-5, sū 1-148, also Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 24-44. For the life of Mahāvīra see Jagdish Chandra's *Vardhamāna Mahāvīra*, Allahabad 1945.

The remaining *Tīrthaṅkaras* were born in Ayodhyā, Hastināpura, Mithilā, Campā and other places, and a majority of them attained salvation at Sammeya.[12]

THE TWELVE CAKRAVARTINS

Then we come to the *Cakravartins* or universal monarchs, the earliest reference to whom is made in the *Samavāyāṅga*[13] Bharata was the first universal monarch and he was the son of Usabha by Summangalā Bharata is said to have started on his conquests with his '*cakra*' jewel and conquered the holy places such as Magadha in the east of Jambudvīpa, Varadāma in the south, and Pabhāsa in the west, and the goddess Sindhu, the Veyaddha and Timisaguhā Then he crossed the great river Sindhu by the '*camma*' jewel and conquered the countries of Simhala, Babbara, Aṅga, Cilāya, Javanadīva Ārabaka, Romaka Alasanda, the *mlecchas* known as Pikkhura, Kālamuha and Jonaka, the *mlecchas* residing on the southern direction of the Veyaddha, and the region from south-west direction up to the Sindhusāgara, and finally the most beautiful land of Kaccha Then Bharata is said to have marched through the Timisaguhā and ordered his general to open its southern gate Then Bharata is stated to have crossed the rivers named Ummaggajalā and Nimaggajalā and defeated the Cilāyas known as Āvāda, who were dwelling in the northern half of Bharaha and were rich, arrogant, powerful, fiery, like demons on earth Then he conquered Culla Himavanta and proceeded to Usabhakūda mountain where with his '*kāganī*' jewel Bharata wrote down his name stating that he was the first universal monarch. Then he proceeded to the north of the Veyaddha mountain where Nami and Vinami, the *Vidhyādhara* kings, offered him the 'woman' jewel, *viz*, Subhaddā Then Bharata conquered the river Gaṅgā and proceeded to the cave of Khandappavāya situated on the western bank of the river Gaṅgā, and ordered his general to open the northern gate of the cave Here Bharata found out the nine treasures

Thus attended by the fourteen jewels Bharata returned to Vinītā where his coronation ceremony was performed with great pomp and splendour. After Bharata had seated himself on the throne, he asked his ninety eight brothers either to serve him or quit the country, whereupon they renounced the world and joined the ascetic order under Usabha Then Bharata sent an envoy to Takkhasilā where his brother Bāhubali was ruling and asked him to obey his commands At this a battle took place between Bharata and Bāhubali when the latter abdicated his kingdom and joined the ascetic order. In course of time, Bharata too

12 For references see *Āva Nir* 382 ff, *Uttarā Sū* 9, *Uttarā Ṭī* 18, pp 244 ff, *Nāyā* 8 *Kalpa Sū* 6 170-184, *Vasu* pp 300 301, 340 ff, 346 ff

13 They are Bharaha, Sagara Maghava, Sanakkumāra, Santi, Kunthu Ara, Subhoma Mahāpauma, Harisena Jaya and Bambhadatta, Sū 12, also *Āva Nir* 374f, *Ṭhā*, 10·718

renounced the world and attained salvation at Atthāvaya. It is said that it was from Bharata that India is said to have derived its name Bhārahavāssa (Bhāratavarsa).[14]

Like Bharata, Sagara also is said to have set out on his conquests and being attended by the fourteen jewels, became the lord of six divisions of Bharaha He was married and his queens are said to have given birth to a large number of sons Once with the permission of Sagara, Janhukumāra, the eldest son with his younger brothers, set out on the journey of the earth, and in course of time, reached the mountain Atthāvaya. Here they saw the shrine erected by lord Bharata and decided to dig up a moat around the mountain for the protection of the shrine. They took the 'staff' jewel and began to dig up the earth At this time the homes of the Nāgas were split open and the Nāgas being terrified, approached their king Jalanappaha, who was enraged and hurried away to Sagara's sons But Janhu pacified him saying that they had no intention of giving them trouble and they were digging up a moat for the protection of the shrine. The moat was ready, but it would not look proper without water. So Janhukumāra took the staff jewel again and splitting the Ganges, brought her water into the moat The water reached the homes of the Nāgas and Jalanappaha was seized with wrath again and he dispatched poison-eyed, big-hooded serpents to the sons of Sagara, who burnt them to ashes immediately

It is stated further that some time after, the people residing near Atthāvaya approached Sagara and reported that the Gangā had begun to flood the surrounding villages. Sagara summoned his grandson, Bhagīraha, and asked him to proceed to Atthāvaya and to draw the water of the Ganges to the eastern ocean It was done and Bhagīraha returned and made a report to his grand-father, who renounced the world and joined the ascetic order[15]

Sanakkumāra was the fourth *Cakravartī* He was the son of king Āsasena by his queen Sahadevī He belonged to the Kuru family and ruled over Hatthināpura Sanakkumāra attained salvation at the mountain Sammeya[16]

Subhoma was the eighth *Cakravartī* and the son of Kattavīriya, who is mentioned as the son of king Anantavīriya of Hatthināpura Renuka's (Jamadaggi's consort) sister was the queen of Anantavīriya Once Jamadaggi gave Renukā *bambhanacaru* and her sister *khattiyacaru* to eat, but the former exchanged it with the latter In course of time, Renukā gave birth to Rāma and her sister to Kattavīriya. Later on, Rāma is said to have killed Anantavīriya and Kattavīriya was annoin-

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14 *Jambu sū*, 3 41-71. *Āva cū* pp 182-228, *Uttarā Tī* 18, pp 232 a f, *Vasu.* pp. 186 ff; also Schubring, *op cit*, p 19 f Also see *Mahābhārata* I 101.

15 *Uttarā Tī.* 18, pp 233a ff *Vasu*, pp 300, 304 f, also cf *Mahābhā* III. 105 ff; *Rāmāyana* I. 38 ff, *Culavamsa* lxxxvii 34.

16 Sanatkumāra is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 188 24; I. 69.24); also see *Dīgha.* II, pp 210 ff

ted on the throne. He died at the hands of Rāma and after his death his consort Tārā delivered Subhoma. Then to take revenge on Rāma, who was a Brāhmana, Subhoma slew him and was satisfied after slaying Brahmanas off the earth twenty one times.[17]

Bambhadutta, the last *Cakravartī*, was the son of Bambha by Cūlanī, who had alliances with the kings such as Dīha of Kosala, Kadaya of Kāsī, Kanerudatta of Gayapura and Pupphacūla of Campā After Bambha's death, king Dīha is said to have managed the affairs of the kingdom of Kampillapura Later on, a battle ensued between Bambhadatta and king Dīha in which the former was killed by the latter [18]

The remaining *Cakravartins* were born in Hatthināpura, Kampillapura, Rājagaha, and Sāvatthī, and as usual renounced their kingdom and with the exception of a few, attained salvation at Sammeya [19]

Then there were nine *Baladevas*,[20] nine *Vāsudevas*[21] and *Prativāsudevas*,[22] the earliest reference to whom is made in *Āvasyaka Bhāsya*.[23] It is mentioned that the *Baladevas* and the *Vāsudevas* were always born as brothers and the latter were the rivals of the *Prativāsudevas* [24] For example, Rāma and Laksamana the two brothers, were born as *Baladeva* and *Vāsudeva* respectively; the latter slew Rāvana, the *Prativāsudeva*. Similarly, Rāma Baladeva and Krsna were born as the last *Baladeva* and *Vāsudeva* respectively; the latter slew Jarāsandha, the last *Prativāsudeva* [25]

[17] *Āva cū*, p. 520; *Vasu.*, pp. 235-40. See also *Mahābhā* III·117 f; XII. 48; *Rāmāyana*, I 74-77

[18] *Uttarā Tī*, 13, p. 187 a ff For Brahamadatta see also the *Mahāumagga Jātaka*, the *Svapnavāsavadattā* and the *Rāmāyana* (I.33.18 ff)

[19] See *Uttarā Tī*, 13, pp 187 ff, 236a-249, *Vasu.*, pp 128-131, 233-240, 340-343, 346-348.

[20] They are Ayala, Vijaya, Bhadda, Suppabha, Sudamsana, Ānanda, Nandana, Pauma and Rāma

[21] They are Tivittha, Divitthu, Sayambhū, Purisuttama, Purisasīha, Purisapundarīya, Datta, Nārāyana and Kanha.

[22] They are Asaggīva, Tāraga, Meraga, Mahukedhava, Nisumbha, Bali, Paharāya, Rāvana and Jarāsandha

[23] 41 ff.

[24] See *Vasu.* pp. 240-245, 310-315, 319, *Uttarā Ṭī.* 18, 255a.

[25] For Kṛṣṇa legends, see *Vasudevahindī*: *Uttarā. Sū.* 22.

CHAPTER II

KINGS AND RULERS

The following is the alphabetical list of some important kings and rulers, together with their descriptions as given in the Jain Canons.

Andhagavahṇī

It is mentioned that king Andhagavahnī[1] was the lord of Soriyapura[2]; he also reigned in Bāravaī (see under Bāravaī).

The following is the geneological tree of the Yādava clan according to the Jain tradition[3] :—

- Jadu
  - Sorī (Founder of Soriyapura)
    - Andhagavahnī [4]
      1. Samuddavijaya
         1. Aritthanemi
         2. Rahanemi
      2. Akkhoha
      3. Thimia
      4. Sāgara
      5. Himava
      6. Ayala
      7. Dharana
      8. Pūrana
      9. Abhicanda
      10. Vasudeva
          1. Vāsudeva
          2. Baladeva
             - Pajuṇṇa, Samba, Bhānu, Subhāṇu, etc.
             - 1. Sumuhakumāra 2. Dummuha 3. Kūvadāraya 4. Nisadha 5. Kujjavāraa. 6. Ḍhanḍha, etc.
          3. Jarākumāra
          4. Akūra
          5. Sāranga
          6. Suhadāraga
          7. Anāhitthi
          8. Siddhattha
          9. Gayasukumāla, etc.
      11. Kuntī
      12. Maddī
    - Bhogavahnī
      - Uggasena
        - Bandhu
        - Subandhu
        - Kamsa
        - Rāyamatī, etc.
  - Vīra or Suvīra (Founder of Sovīra)

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[1] For other traditions regarding Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi see *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 289f and *P.H.A.I*, p. 118, also *Ghata Jātaka* (No. 454).

[2] *Kalpa Ṭī*. 6. p. 171

[3] *Vasu* pp 77, 78 ff, 110 f, 357 f; *Uttarā Ṭī*, 22 1 ff 2 pp 37, 39, 45a; *Anta*. 3, pp. 8, 22; *Kalpa*. *Ṭī* 6, pp. 172-178, *Nirayā* 5

[4] It should be noted that Haribhadra identifies Andhagavahnī with Samuddavijaya, the father of Airtthanemi and Rahanemi (*Das*. 208. *Ṭī*.), although in *Uttarā*. (22·4) Aritthanemi is described as the son of Samuddavijaya.

Asoga

Candagutta is mentioned as the first king of the Mauryan dynasty. His son was Bindusāra and his grand-son was Asoga They all ruled over Pāḍaliputta The Mauryan dynasty is compared with a barley grain which is thick in the middle and thin at both ends It is stated that Chandragupta was less powerful in army and equipment. Bindusāra was more powerful than his predecessor and Asoga still more, whereas Samprati is described as the greatest of all. After Samprati the Mauryan dynasty began to decline [5]

Balamitta

It is said that Balamitta and Bhānumitta were two brothers, the former was ruling over Ujjeni It is said that Balabhānu, the sister's son of Balamitta, was ordained by Kālaka ācarya as a result of which Kālaka had to quit the town According to another tradition, Balamitta and Bhānumitta were the sons of Kālaka's sister [6]

Bhambhasāra, Bhimbhasāra or *Seniya*

King Bhambhasāra or better known as Seniya finds an important place in the Jain Canons It is said that during the reign of king Pasenai, the city of Kusaggapura was a frequent prey to fires Once through the carelessness of the cook, the king's palace caught fire when all the princes left the house in a confusion At this time prince Seniya took a drum (*bhambhā*) and came out and since then he came to be known as Bhambhasāra [7]

Seniya was a contemporary of Mahāvīra and is said to have asked a number of questions to the Teacher which are recorded in the sacred books of the Jains Seniya is referred to as "lion of kings" (*rājasīha*) in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*,[8] and is said to have belonged to the Vāhiya clan.[9]

HIS QUEENS

The Antagadadasāo[10] gives the following names of twenty three queens[11] of Seniya Nandā, Nandamaī, Nanduttarā, Nandaseniyā, Maruyā, Sumaruyā, Mahamaruyā, Marudevā, Bhaddā, Subhaddā.

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5 *Brh Bhā* 1 3278 f For other traditions regarding Aśoka see *P H A I*, pp 4, 249 also, Law, some-ancient Indian kings, *Buddhistic studies*, pp 205 ff

6 *Nisi cū*, 10, p 630 ff For the identity of Balamitra and Vikramāditya, see Vīra Nirvāna aur Jain Kāl Gananā, *N P*, p 141

7 *Āva cū*, II, p 158. cf *Paramatthadīpanī*, the com on the *Udāna*, p 104 where it is said Seniya possessed a great army or he belonged to the Seniya *gotta* and so he was known as Seniya. He was called Bimbisāra because he was of golden (*bimbi*) colour.

8 20 58

9 *Āva. cū.* II, p. 165.

10 7, p. 43 f.

11 According to Buddhist literature, Seṇiya had five hundred queens (*Mahāvagga*, VIII·1·15)

Sujātā, Sumanā, Bhūyadinnā , Kālī, Sukālī, Mahākālī, Kanhā, Sukanhā, Mahākanhā, Vīrakanhā, Rāmakaṇhā, Piusenakanhā and Mahāsenakanhā

It is said that Seniya had all the virtues of a prince, but his father would not give him the kingdom, so Seniya was frightened and fled away to the city of Bennāyada, where he married Nandā, the daughter of a merchant In course of time, Nandā or Sunandā became pregnant, and Seniya left for Rāyagiha Later on, Sunandā's father took her to Seniya where she gave birth to Abhaya, who, later on, was appointed as a Prime Minister to Seniya [12] Dhāriṇī was another queen of Seniya, who gave birth to Meghakumāra Prince Abhayakumara was present at the time of Meghakumāra's birth [13] Cellanā was the third queen of Seniya It is mentioned that Cellaṇā was the youngest of the seven daughters of king Cedaga of Vesālī, who was kidnapped by Seniya secretly Abhayakumāra was present at the time of this secret escapade [14] Apagatagandhā is mentioned as still another queen of Seniya [15]

HIS SONS

According to the *Āvaśyaka cūrni*, Seniya had a number of sons.[16] The *Anuttarovavāiya sutta*[17] records the following ten names of his sons . Jāli, Mayāli, Uvayāli, Purisasena, Vārisena, Dīhadanta, Latthadanta, Vehalla, Vehāyasa and Abhayakumāra Out of these the first seven were born of Dhāriṇī, Vehalla and Vehāyasa, also known as Halla and Vihalla, of Cellanā, and Abhayakumāra of Nandā [18] The same work records the following thirteen names of Seniya's sons Dīhasena, Mahāsena, Latthadanta, Gūdhadanta, Suddhadanta, Halla, Duma, Dumasena, Mahādumasena, Sīhasena, Mahāsīhasena and Punnasena All of them are said to have joined the ascetic order and attained salvation [19] Kāla, Sukāla, Mahākāla, Kanha, Sukanha, Mahākanha, Vīrakanha, Rāmakanha, Senakanha and Mahāsenakanha[20] are mentioned as other sons of Seniya by the queens Kālī, Sukālī, Mahākālī, etc mentioned

12 *Avā cū* , p 516 , *Ava Tī* , Hari p 417a Nandā or Sunandā of the Jains may be identified with Ambapāli of the Buddhists Abhayakumāra was her illegitimate son by king Bimbisāra (*Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Gilgit Manuscripts Vol *III*, pt 2, pp 20 f) According to another tradition, Abhaya was the son of Padumavatī, a courtesan of Ujjenī, the com on the *Therīgāthā*, pp 39-41

13 *Nāyā* 1

14 *Ava cū* II p 165 f Cellanā, also known as Vaidehī, and her elder sister Sujeṭṭhā of the Jains are identical with Celā and Upacelā of the Buddhist tradition Both were the daughters of Simha, the commander-in-chief of the Lecchavis and the nieces of Gopa, the chief minister of Bimbasāra For the full story, see *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvastivāda, pp 12 f In Pali literature Kosalādevī (*Jātaka*, III p 12 f) and Khemā (*Manorathapurani*, the com on the *Anguttara* I, p 342) are mentioned as other queens of Seniya The former is said to have been the mother of Kūnika, otherwise known as Ajataśatru

15 *Nisī cū* , Pī , p 16

16 II, p 167

17 1.

18 *Ibid.*

19 Ch. II.

20 Niryā. 1.

above. It is mentioned that these ten princes fought in a battle with Kūnika against Cedaga.[21] Nandisena and Kūniya are said to have been other sons of Seniya. We are not told much about the former except that he controlled Secanaka, the pet elephant of his father.[22] Later on, he joined the ascetic order.[23] Kūniya, Halla and Vihalla were born of Cellanā, Kūniya being the eldest. There was a great war between Kūniya and his younger brothers.[24] Halla and Vihalla entered the ascetic order under Mahāvīra.[25]

About Abhaya, it is said that once he asked Mahāvīra, "who will be the last royal sage." The latter declared "The last royal saint is king Uddāyana and after him the crowned kings will not take a vow." Thereupon, prince Abhaya, fearing that his taking a vow would be impeded, refused to accept the throne. Once king Seniya went with queen Cellanā to worship Mahāvīra. When they were coming back, queen Cellanā saw a great hermit standing in a meditation and enduring the torture of cold. The queen felt very sorry for the hermit. She went and slept at night in her bed. In course of the night, her hand slipped out of her blanket and became cold. She was immediately reminded of the hermit and wondered how would he get through the night. The king heard her speech and became doubtful about her chastity. Next morning Seniya ordered Abhaya to burn down the harem, and himself went to Mahāvīra to ask whether queen Cellanā was the wife of one or many. Mahāvīra replied that she was devoted to only one husband and he explained what had happened. The king returned to the palace full of remorse. In the meantime, prince Abhaya set on fire an empty elephant stable and went to worship the *Jina*. Later on, Abhaya renounced the world and joined the order, and Seniya made up his mind to give the kingdom to Kūniya.[26]

It seems Seniya also had daughters. We are told in the *Āvasayaka cūrni*[27] that he married one of his daughters to the son of Kayapunna of Rāyagiha, who is said to have saved his pet elephant Secanaka from the jaws of a crocodile. The same work also mentions a sister of king Seniya, Senā by name. She was given to a *Vijjāhara* in marriage, but she was killed by the *Vijjāharas*. Senā had given birth to a daughter who was sent to Seniya after the death of her mother and was given to Abhaya-kumāra in marriage.[28]

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21 Pauma, Mahāpauma, Bhadda, Subhadda, Mahābhadda, Paumasena, Paumagumma, Nalinigumma, Ānanda and Nandana are mentioned as the ten sons of Kāla, Sukāla, etc. (*ibid* 2)

22 *Āva cū* II, p 171.

23 *Ibid*, p 559.

24 See under 'Kūniya'.

25 *Āva cū*, II, p. 174.

26 *Ibid*. p. 114 f.

27 P 468.

28 II, p. 160. According to the Buddhist tradition, Seniya Bimbisāra ruled for fifty two years (*Mahāvamsa* II. 28 f) For a full account, see Law's some ancient Indian kings, *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 186 ff

Bhesaga (*Bhīsmaka*)

It is said that Bhesaga ruled at Kundinī His son Rukmin (or Ruppi) along with the king Candacchāya of Anga, Paḍibuddhi of Sāgeya, Saṅkha of Kāsī, Adīnasattu of Kuru and Jiyasattu of Pañcāla,[29] was invited to Kampillapura to attend the marriage of Dovai Rukmiṇī was the sister of Rukmin who was given to Sisupāla in marriage, but Kaṇha Vāsudeva kidnapped her (see Kodinna)

Bhoga (*Bhogarāja*)

Bhogas are enumerated with Ugra, Rājanya, Ksatriya, Jñāta, Kaurava and Iksvāku The Bhogas held the position of a *guru*.[30] According to the *Dasaveyāliya cūrni*, Bhoga was a particular class of the Khattiyas, and Ugrasena is said to have been born in this class [31] In the *Dasaveyāliya sutta*[32], Rājimatī calls herself the daughter of Bhogarāja and Haribhadra Sūri in his commentary identifies Bhogarāja with Ugrasena

Candagutta

According to the Jain tradition, Candagutta was the son of a daughter of the chief of a village of peacock-tamers (*moraposaga*), which belonged to the Nandas [33] It is said that when Cānakaya was insulted by the last Nanda in Pādaliputta he went to this village and took charge of Candagutta Candagutta grew and in course of time, Cānakya, together with the boy, laid siege to the city of Pādaliputta but was vanquished by the army of Nanda Nanda's horsemen pursued Cānakya and Candagutta, who were forced to run away Later on Cānakya went to Himavantakūda and entered into an alliance with the king Pavvaya,[34] promising him half of Nanda's country if he would aid him to subdue Nanda They waged war against Nanda in which he lost and consequently was allowed to leave his kingdom, carrying with him all that he could place in one car Accordingly he put his two wives and a daughter in his carriage and loading it with some treasure he drove off While Nanda was going, his daughter saw Candagutta and fell in love with him, whereupon Nanda allowed her to go and marry Candagutta. But when she was getting into Candagutta's chariot, nine spokes of the wheel broke. Candagutta would have turned her out, but Cānakya

29 *Nāyā* 8
30 *Bṛh Bhā Vr*, I 3265
31 P 88
32 2 8.
33 The Buddhist tradition also testifies the connection between Moriya (Maurya) and *mora* (peacock) It is said that the city which the Mauryas founded had buildings of blue stone like the neck of the peacocks, *Mahāvamsa Tīkā*, p 180 Aelian informs us that the tame peacocks were kept in the parks of the Maurya palace at Pātaliputra (*P H A I*, p 216)
34 Compare the Buddhist account in the *Mahāvamsa Tīkā*, pp. 181 ff, according to which Pabbata was an heir of Dhanananda, the last Nanda

prevented him saying that the new dynasty would flourish for nine generations. Later on, the kingdom of Nanda was divided between Candagutta and Pavvaya, when the latter, along with his share also took the 'poisonous' girl (*visakannā*). Pavvaya enjoyed with her and in course of time died, and thus Candagutta got possession of both kingdoms.

But Cānakya was not satisfied with this He wanted to exterminate the entire family of Nanda. One day he saw a weaver, named Naladāma, who was burning out the holes of ants (*makkoda*). Being questioned, the weaver answered that his son had a bite from an ant and so he would destroy their whole species Cānakya was pleased to find out such a person of resolute mind and he employed him to destroy the family of Nanda. Thus Cānakya was successful in overthrowing the Nanda dynasty and anointing Candragupta on the throne of Pādaliputta.[35] We are told in the commentary on the *Brhatkalpa Bhāsya* that when Candragupta ascended the throne some Ksatriyas did not obey his commands, because he was the son of a peacock-tamer When Cānakya knew this, he started incognito as a *Kārpātika* and by burning out the whole village to ashes, punished the offenders [36]

A Jain tradition related in the *Rājavalikathe* observes that Candragupta was a Jain and that, when a great famine occurred, he abdicated in favour of his son, Simhasena, and repaired to Mysore where he died Two inscriptions on the north bank of the Kāverī near Seringapatam of about 900 A D, describe the summit of the Kalbappu Hill, i e Candragiri as marked by the foot-prints of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta *Munipati* (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the inscriptions*, pp 3-4) [37] However, it should be noted that the earliest literary form of this tradition is found in the *Brhatkathākośa* (131) by Harisena dating from about A D 931, according to which Bhadrabāhu had the king Candragupta as his disciple

Cedaga

Cedaga[38] belonged to the Haihaya clan and was a ruler of Vesāli. He was the most eminent among the Licchavi princes and an influential leader of eighteen confederate kings (*ganarājā*) of Kāsī and Kosala, who were his vassals. Ceḍaga's sister, Tisalā, was the mother of Mahāvīra and his seven daughters are said to have been given in marriage to various kings and rulers His daughter Pabhāvatī was given to Uddāyana of Vīibhaya, Paumāvatī to Dadhivāhana of Campā, Migāvatī to

[35] *Uttarā Tī* pp 57 ff; *Ā.a. cū*, 563 f Also cf the tradition recorded in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol I, Bk. II, ch V.

[36] I 2489, *Pinda Bhā* 44 ff p 142 For other tradition regarding Chandragupta, see *P.H A I.*, pp. 216, 295, 242n.

[37] *P.H A.I.*, p. 241 f.

[38] According to the *Brhatkathākośa* (55·165), Keka was Ceḍaga's father and Yaśomati his mother.

Sayānīya of Kosambī, Sivā to Pajjoya of Ujjenī, and Jetthā to Nandivaddhana of Kundaggāma; Sujjetthā renounced the world and the youngest Cellanā married Seniya of Rāyagiha [39]

It is mentioned that after Abhaya renounced the world, king Seniya gave a pair of divine garments (*devadūsajugala*) to Nandā, and his famous elephant, Seyanaga, and a huge necklace of eighteen strings to his twin sons, Halla and Vihalla It is said that the value of the elephant and the necklace was as much as the whole kingdom of the king. It is stated that Kūniya, the eldest son of Seniya, after usurping his father's throne, at the instigation of his wife, Paumāvai, demanded from his younger brothers the return of both gifts On this Halla and Vihalla demanded half of the kingdom, which was refused to them Thereupon Halla and Vihalla fled away to their grand-father, Cetaka, in Vesāli. Kūnika sent an embassy to Cetaka asking him to hand over his younger brothers with the gifts, but the latter refused to do so, saying that if Kūnika was prepared to give half of his kingdom, then only some settlement could be made Thus having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitives, Kūnika waged war against his grand-father, Cetaka.

Kūnika made preparations to attack Vesāli with a huge army together with the ten princes viz, Kāla, Sukāla, etc., and passing through Videha, reached Vesāli On the other side Cedaga called together the nine Licchavis and nine Mallakis, i e the eighteen confederate kings of Kāsī and Kosala, and asked them whether they would satisfy Kūnika's demand or go to war with him, when the latter course was adopted

King Cedaga was a skilful archer and he never missed his aim. But since he was a *sāvaga* he had taken a vow not to shoot more than an arrow a day When Cedaga killed ten princes, viz, Kāla, Sukāla, etc. within ten days, Kūnika's mind was distracted with fear Later on, he is said to have made use of two wonderful engines of war, mentioned before

The eighteen confederate kings returned to their cities and Cedaga to Vesāli Kūnika laid siege to Vesāli and waited for the city to fall. Thus much time passed, but still Kūnika could not succeed Halla and Vihalla joined the order under Mahāvīra Later on, Kūnika is said to have brought the courtesan, Māgahiyā, and the ascetic Kūlavālaya together, which brought about the fall of the city of Vesāli No sooner this was done, than Kūniya entered into the city and destroyed it. King Cedaga is said to have suspended an iron image (*lohapadimā*) in his neck and plunged into a well The citizens of Vesāli are said to have been carried away to Nepāla (*Nemālavattinam*) by Mahissara.[40]

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39 According to the *Bṛhatkathākośa* (97 36), Cetaka's queen was Subhadrā, who gave birth to seven daughters

40 *Niryā* I; *Āva Cū* II, pp 164-174, *Bhag.* 7 9, *Uja Bhā* 10 535 f For the Buddhist tradition regarding the war between king Ajātasattu and the Licchavis, see *Dīgha.*, Mahāparinibbānasutta, and its Com.

Dadhivāhana

It is mentioned that king Dadhivāhana ruled at Campā with his queen Paumāvai. It is said that when the queen was pregnant, she went to sport in a forest on an elephant along with the king But the elephant ran away into the forest, when the king caught hold of the branch of a banyan tree and the queen was carried away to a far off place, whence she reached Dantapura and entered the ascetic order. In course of time, the queen Paumāvai delivered Karakandu, who ascended the throne of Kāñcanaura and later on waged war against his father, Dadhivāhana. At this time the nun Paumāvati is said to have appeared on the scene and prevented bloodshed Later on, Dadhivāhana transferred his kingdom to his son and entered the ascetic order [41]

Another reference to Dadhivāhana is made in the *Āvaśkaya Niyukti* When king Sayānīya of Kosambi invaded Campā, a great confusion arose and Vasumatī, the daughter of Dadhivāhana, and her mother Dhārinī fell into the hands of a royal officer (*uttiya*), who wanted to make Dhārinī his wife Later on, both were brought to Kosambī where Dhārinī died and her daughter Vasumatī was sold to a merchant, Dhanavaha After some time the merchant s wife, Mūlā, became jealous of her and having cut her hair, put her into custody Vasumati or better known as Candanā, is said to have offered food to Mahāvīra and joined his rank as a nun.[42]

Damadanta

It is said that Damadanta ruled at Hatthisīsa Damadanta and the Pāndavas of Hatthināura were not on good terms with each other. Once when the former went to visit the king Jarāsandha of Rāyagiha, the Pāṇḍavas are said to have plundered and burnt the city of Hatthisīsa. Later on, Damadanta besieged Hatthināura and the Pāṇḍavas shut themselves in their palaces in fear [43]

Damaghosa

It is mentioned that Sisupāla was the son of Damaghosa, who was invited to attend the marriage of Dovaī in Kampillapura. He was ruling in Suttivai with his five hundred brothers.[44] Maddī, the daughter of Andhagavahnī, was the mother of Sisupāla.[45]

Daṇḍagi

It is stated that Daṇḍagi ruled at Kumbhakārakaḍa. He married the daughter of Khandaga of Campā (see under Daṇḍakāraṇṇa, Section V)

41 *Āva Cū*, II, p 205 ff; *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 9, p. 132a.
42 *Āva Nir*, 520 f; *Āva. Tī*, p. 294 f;
43 *Āvā cū* p 492.
44 *Nāyā.* 8. p. 178.
45 *Sūya.* p. 79.

Dandakī is indentical with Daṇḍakya of Kauṭilya and Daṇḍaka of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*.[46]

Dasāra

The ten Dasāra kings are mentioned as the sons of Aṅdhagavahṇī; Samuddavijaya was the chief amongst all (see Andhagavahṇī). It is said that first they were reigning in Mathurā but from fear of Jarāsandha, migrated to Bāravai and began to rule there.[47] It is mentioned that the description of the Dasāra kings was given in the fourth chapter of the *Bandhadasā*, which is now lost.[48]

Dhruvasena

Dhruvasena ruled at Ānandapura. It is said that when his son died, after 980 or 993 years of Mahāvīra's death the ***Kalpasūtra*** was recited.[49]

Dhundhumāra

It is said that Dhundhumāra ruled at Sumsumārapura. His daughter Aṅgāravatī was an adherent of the Jain faith. It is stated that in order to get her, Pajjova laid seige to the city.[50]

Dīha

Dīha ruled at Kosala. In Pali literature he is represented as Dīghati.[51] (See Bambha).

Dummuha or *Jaya*

It is mentioned that king Dummuha, otherwise known as Jaya, who was born in the Hari family, ruled at Kampillapura Once a great diadem (*mahāmauda*) was unearthed from the ground, which was put by the king on his head By its magic power the king is said to have become two-faced (*dummuha*), and hence he came to be known as Dummuha. It is said that Pajjoya had an eye on this diadem and so he demanded it, but Dummuha replied that if Pajjoya was prepared to part with his elephant, Nalagiri, his chariot, Aggibhīru, his spouse, Sivā and his letter-carrier, Lohajangha, then only he would part with his diadem. On this, Pajjoya declared war against Dummuha, in which the former lost and was taken prisoner. Pajjoya was brought to Kampillapura where he fell in love with the princess, Mayanamañjarī, and married her.

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46 *P B I*, p. 57 ff
47 *Das. cū*, p 41, Dasārahas are mentioned as a group of Khattiyas (*Saṃyutta*, II, p. 266f). According to Buddhaghosa, they were so called because they took one-tenth of the corn (Com. II, p 167), also see *Mahābhārata* (II·40 5)
48 *Ṭhā*. 10·755
49 *Kalpa. Ṭī*, p. 8a.
50 *Āva. Cū*., II, p. 199 f.
51 See *Mahāvagga*, pp. 342 ff.

It is said that once there was a great festival in honour of Indra in Kampillapura Dummuha beheld the banner of Indra falling down and thenceforth he renounced the world.[52]

Duvaya

It is mentioned that Duvaya ruled at Kampillapura. He sent invitations to various kings and rulers requesting them to attend the *sayamvara* of Dovaī[53]

According to the *Mahābhārata*, Drupada was the king of Pāñcālas, son of Pṛṣatu and the father of Dhṛṣtadyumna, Sikhaṇḍin, Draupadī, etc.[54]

Gaddabhilla

It is said that Gaddabhilla, the father of Vikramāditya, ruled at Ujjenī He abducted the sister of Kālakācārya, who proceeded to Pārasakūla (Persia) and returned with ninety six kings (*sāha*), and declared war against Gaddabhilla The kings of Lāta, who were also insulted by Gaddabhilla, are said to have joined them. In this war, Gaddabhilla lost and the kings from Persia were placed on the throne of Ujjenī (See under Hindugadesa)

It is said that after some years, Gaddabhilla's son, the glorious Vikramāditya, repelled the invaders and re-established the throne of his ancestors According to a Jain tradition, the rule of Gardabhilla lasted for thirteen years and that of the Śakas for four years[55]

Jarākumāra

Jarākumāra is described as an elder brother of Kanha Vāsudeva When the five Pāndavas renounced the throne of Pāndu Mahurā they anointed Jarākumāra as a king[56] Jarākumāra is also said to be a ruler of Vanavāsī where he ruled with the princes Sasaa and Bhasaa (see under Vanavāsī, Section V)

Jarāsandha

It is said that Jarāsandha ruled at Rāyagiha ; his son Sahadeva was invited to attend the marriage of Dovaī in Kampillapura (see supra)

We are told in the *Vasudevahindī*[57] that Jarāsandha was a very powerful king of Rāyagiha He was the son of Viyaddaha (Sanskrit Bṛhadratha) and many *sāmanta* kings paid him respect. Kālindasenā was his chief

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52 *Uttarā Tī* 9, p 135f, cf the cause of his renunciation according to the Buddhists, see *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* For other traditions, see also *P B I*, p 48, *P H A I* pp 61, 70, 114

53 *Nāyā* 8 p 178

54 Index to the *Mahābhārata*, p 269 f.

55 C J Shah, *Jainism in North India*, pp 28, 188,

56 *Uttarā Tī*, 2, p. 42a

57 Pp. 80, 247, 306, 365, 369.

queen and his daughter Indasenā was given in marriage to Jiyasattu of Vasantapura Another of his daughters, Jīvayasā, was given in marriage to Kamsa [58] He attended the svayamvara of Rohinī where a fight took place Later on, the prophecy of Aimutta came to be true and Jarāsandha was killed at the hands of Vāsudeva Kanha [59]

Jiyasattu

Jiyasattu (the conqueror of enemies) seems to have been a common designation of kings like the epithet Devānāmpiya of the later age Like Bambhadatta of the Buddhists, Jiyasattu is known as a generic name, and is represented as a ruler of a number of cities. It seems that Jiyasattu (also Jitāri[60] or Hatasattu[61]) was also known by the name of Kākavanna or Kākajangha.[62] He is described as a ruler of a large number of cities —

(i)	Acalapura[63]	(ii)	Aojjhā[64]
(iii)	Ālabhiyā[65]	(iv)	Āmalakappā[66]
(v)	Bhaddilapura[67]	(vi)	Campā[68]
(vii)	Chhattagā[69]	(viii)	Lohggalā[70]
(ix)	Mahurā[71]	(x)	Kākandī[72]
(xi)	Kampillapura[73]	(xii)	Khiipaitthiya[74]
(xiii)	Sāvatthī[75]	(xiv)	Migakoṭṭhaya[76]
(xv)	Mihilā[77]	(xvi)	Pādaliputta

It is mentioned that king Jiyasattu besieged the city of Ujjenī and as a result of which the king of Ujjenī died and the city was captured by the enemy The king of Ujjenī had four *sāvoga* servants One of them applied oil to one foot of Jiyasattu and challenged any one

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58 *Kalpa Tī*, 6, p 173
59 Also cf *Sūya cū*, p 340 For the Vedic tradition, see *P H A I*, p 96 *A I H T*, p 282.
60 *Nisī cū* p 745
61 *Uttarā cū* 2, p 78, *Vasu* p 115
62 *Āva Cū*, p 510, *Abhidhānakosa*. according to the *Vasu* (p 63), Kākajangha was reigning in Tosali
63 *Uttarā Cū*, p 62
64 *Uttarā Tī*, 18, p 233a.
65 *Uvā* 5.
66 *Nāyā* II, p 226.
67 *Anta*. 3, p. 7 f
68 *Uvā* 2, p. 22, *Nāyā*. 12, p. 135
69 *Āva*. *Nir*. 450.
70 *Ibid*. 490.
71 *Āva Tī*, p 504a.
72 *Anta*. 3, p 61 *Anutt*. p. 61.
73 *Uvā* 6 p, 43.
74 *Āva*, *Nir*. 1318, Āva. cū. II, p. 158; *Piṇḍa Nir*., 80 p 30, *Gacch. Vṛ*. p. 115a.
75 *Rāya*. *sū*. 146.
76 *Āva*. *cū*., p. 519.
77 *Sūr*. *Sū*. 1.

who was equal to him in doing so to the other. Jiyasattu felt a burning sensation and it is said that since then he turned black and came to be known as Kākavaṇṇa [78]

(xvii) Polāsapura[79]
(xviii) Pañcāla[80]
(xix) Poyaṇapura[81]
(xx) Savvaobhadda[82]
(xxi) Tigiñchi[83]
(xxii) Ujjenī[84]
(xxiii) Vanavāsī[85]
(xxiv) Vāṇārasī[86]
(xxv) Vāṇiyagāma[87]
(xxvi) Vasantapura[88]

Kaṁsa

Kaṁsa was the son of king Uggaseṇa of Mahurā. It is said that at the time of Kamsa's conception, his mother had a chronic longing to eat the flesh of her husband The child was taken to be unlucky and as soon as he was born, he was kept in a box and was floated in the Jumna ; later on, he was picked up by the merchant Soriya, who handed him over to king Jarāsandha of Rāyagiha. Jarāsandha gave him his daughter Jīvayaśā in marriage In course of time, Kamsa grew up and came to Mathurā He made Uggasena prisoner and began to rule over the kingdom of Mathurā.

It is said that once Jīvayasā, placing Devakī on her shoulders, was dancing with pride. At that time she saw the ascetic Atimuktakakumāra, the younger brother of Kamsa, and invited him to play with them. At this Atimuktakakumāra predicted that the seventh son of Devakī would slay Kamsa It is said that Kamsa asked for seven issues from Vasudeva, the husband of Devaī Kamsa had already killed six sons of Devaī but when the seventh one was born, Vasudeva quickly exchanged him with the daughter of Jasoyā, the wife of Nanda In course of time, Kanha Vāsudeva grew up and he killed Kamsa[89] (see Andhagavahnī ; Kaṇha).

When Jarāsandha heard of the death of his son-in-law, he got very angry with the Yādavas. Thereupon Samudravijaya, Krsna, Balabhadra, Nemikumāra, Ugrasena, etc. and many other Yādavas are said to have

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78 *Āva Cū* p 540 ; also *Abhidhānarājendrakosa*, under "Kākajangha" According to the Purānas, Śiśunāga was succeeded by his son Kākavarna, and according to the Ceylonese chronicles, by his son Kālāśoka According to Professor Jacobi, Geiger and Bhandarkar, Kālāsoka and Kākavarna are identical Bāna in his *Harsacarita* gives a curious legend concerning the death of Kākavarna (Kālāsoka). It is stated that Kākavarana Śaiśunāga was taken somewhere in an artificial aerial car and was murdered in the vicinity of his city with a dagger thrust into his throat (*P H A. I*, p. 180 f, Pradhan, *op cit.*, p. 223f.

79 *Uvā.* 7.

80 *Nāyā.* 8, p 108.

81 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 6 6198 f.

82 *Vivā.* 5 p. 33

Ibid. II, 9. p. 64-2.

84 *Āva. Nir*, 1274 ; *Uttarā Tī* 4, p. 78a.

85 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4. 5255 f.

86 *Uvā.* p 32.

87 *Uvā,* I. p 4 ; Jiyasattu mentioned here is identified by both Drs. Hoernle and Barnett with Cedaga of Vesāli, *Uvā* p. 6.

88 *Ogh. Nir.*, 450, p 158 a , *Āva. cū.* p. 534.

89 *Vasu.* p. 368f ; *Kalpa. Tī*, 6, p. 173 ff.

migrated to the west of Mathurā, where Satyabhāmā, the wife of Kṛṣṇa, gave birth to Bhānu and Bhramara, and founded the city of Dwārakā. Later on, Jarāsandha marched to Dwārakā and was killed by Kṛṣṇa.[90]

Kaṇha

Kanha or Kanha Vāsudeva and Baladeva were the sons of Vasudeva by Devakī and Rohiṇī respectively Jarākumāra is mentioned as another son of Vasudeva, who was the cause of Kanha's death.[91] It is mentioned that as predicted by Aimuttakumāra, Devaī, the mother of Kanha, gave birth to eight sons, out of whom six were exchanged for the still-born children of Sulasā of Bhaddilapura by Harinegamesī.[92] The seventh was Kanha Vāsudeva and the last and the youngest was Gayasukumāla, who is said to have renounced the world before he married.[93] Kanha Vāsudeva ruled over Bāravai together with many princes and chiefs [94]

HIS QUEENS

According to the *Nāyādhammakahā*, Kanha had a large number of queens,[95] but his eight chief queens are mentioned in particular. His first queen was Saccabhāmā, who was the daughter of Uggasena and who bore Bhānu and Subhānu Then we have Paumāvati, the daughter of Rudhira (Hirannanābha, according to the commentary of the *Panhavāgarana*, 4, p 88) Gorī, the daughter of Meru of Vīibhaya, Gandhārī, the daughter of Naggai of Pokkhalāvai, Lakkhanā, the daughter of Hirannaloma of Simhaladīva, Susīmā the daughter of Ratthavaddhana of Arakkhurī, Jāmbavai, the daughter of Jamavanta of Jambavanta, who bore Samba, and Ruppiṇī the daughter of Bhesaga of Kundinīpura of Viyabbha, who bore Pajjunna [96]

These queens are said to have been ordained by Aritthanemi, who was the cousin of Kanha Vāsudeva, and who was very dear to the Yādavas. Before Aritthanemi joined the ascetic order there was an "arm-battle" (*bāhujuddha*) between him and Kanha in which the latter is said to have lost Later on, Kanha became jealous of Ariṭṭhanemi lest he might overpower him and usurp his kingdom.[97]

In course of time, Aritthanemi renounced the world and prophesied the destruction of Bāravai at the hands of sage Dīvāyana Hearing this, princes Pajjunṇa, Nisaḍhasuya, Sāraṇa, Samba and others and queen Ruppiṇī (according to *Antagaḍa*, Paumāvai) together with many princesses

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90 *Kalpa. Ṭī.* 6, p 176. ff; for the Vedic tradition see *P. H. A. I.* p., 119.

91 *Uttarā. Ṭī*, 2, pp 36 a ff.

92 However, according to another tradition, her six children were killed by Kamsa (see under Kamsa).

93 *Anta* 3.

94 *Nāyā.* 5 p 68.

95 5, p. 68.

96 *Vasu.* pp. 78f, 82, 94, 98, *Ṭhā.*, 8·626.

97 *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, 22, pp. 278 ff.

joined the order under Aritthanemi. It is said that in course of time, the prophecy came to be true Kanha and Bala together with Rohinī, Devaī and their father, Vasudeva, went to a place of safety After some time Kaṇha was shot dead by the arrow of Jarākumāra.[98]

Karakaṇḍu (see Dadhivāhana)

Kuṇāla

Kunāla is described as the son of Asoga The city of Ujjenī was given to him as viceroyalty (*kumārabhutti*). It is said that, when prince Kunāla was a little more than eight years, king Asoga sent a message asking the prince to commence his studies (*adhīyatām kumārah*) But as the luck would have it, Kunāla's step-mother put a dot on "*a*" which changed "*adhīyatām*" into "*andhīyatām*," and now the message was changed into "let the prince be made blind" (*andhīyatām kumārah*) After perusing the letter, Kunāla thought that the royal commands from the Maurya dynasty must not be disobeyed and he stoutly put out his eyesight with a red hot iron rod and he lost his sight for ever It is mentioned that in course of time, the blind Kunāla came to the court of Asoga, disguised as a minstrel and gave a musical performance from behind the curtain Asoga was very pleased and promised Kunāla to give him anything that he might ask for Kunāla begged for a *kākanī* which in the Ksatriya language denoted the sovereignty of the kingdom Later on, when Kunāla's identity was disclosed to the king, he questioned him as to what he would do with it as he was unfit to carry on the work of government. Thereupon Kunāla replied that a son was born to him only recently (*sampai*) and it was for him that he wanted kingdom Asoga granted him his request[99]

Kūnika

Kūnika, also known as Asokacanda, Vajjividehaputta or Videhaputta, was the son of king Seniya by Cellanā It is said that when Kūnika was born, he was cast on a dung-hill outside the city, where his little finger (*kānanguli*) was wounded by the tail of a cock and since then he came to be known as Kūnika

According to another tradition, after his birth Kūnika was cast in a garden named asogavaniyā which became illuminated and hence Kūnika came to be known as Asogavanacanda or Asogacanda[100] The third epithet of Kūnika was Videhaputta. He was so called because his mother Cellanā belonged to the country of Videha.[101] A detailed

98 *Ibid* p 37 ff, for the Buddhist tradition, see *Ghata Jātaka*, also *P B I*. p. 23

99 *Brh Bhā Pī* 292 ff, 1 3275 f, *Nisī cū*, p 437, 5, 87 (MSS) For Buddhist tradition, see Law, *G Essays*, p. 44 f

100 *Āva. cū*, II, p. 166

101 *Bhag. Tī* 7 9, The Buddist Nikāyas also call Ajātaśatru by the name of Vedehiputta. Buddhaghosa, however, resolves "*vedehi*" into *veda-iha, vedana ihati* or intellectual effort (The com. on the *Digha*. I P. 139).

description of king Kūnika's pilgrimage to Mahāvīra is given in the *Ovāiya.*[102] It is mentioned that at the time of Kūnika's conception, there arose in Cellanā a chronic longing to eat the flesh from her husband's belly. In course of time, when Kūnika was born, he was cast on a dung-hill as stated above, by the maid-servants of Cellanā But when Seṇiya came to know of this, he got angry and brought the child back.[103]

In course of time, when Kūniya grew up, he wanted to kill his father and rule over the kingdom himself So he called the ten princes, *viz.* Kāla, etc and discussed with them the plan to divide the kingdom into eleven parts It is mentioned that one day Kūniya arrested his father, and putting him into a prison installed himself on the throne He ordered his servants to give Seniya one hundred lashes every morning and evening Cellanā was not allowed to have any interview with her husband and even food and drink was stopped to him Later, when Cellanā was allowed to see her husband, she concealed beans (*kummāsa*) in her hairs, besmeared them with wine and visited Seniya Inside the prison she is said to have washed her hairs a hundred times with water which turned into wine, and it is said that owing to the strength given him by the wine, the king was able to endure the whipping [104]

It is said that once when Kūniya went to touch the feet of his mother, she related to him an incident of his childhood, when his little finger was torn off by the tail of a cock, and to cure the intense pain caused by this, his father held this finger in his mouth and sucked its pus and blood [105] When Kūniya heard this he was full of remorse at the treatment given to his father, and he immediately started with a hatchet in his hand to set his father free But, thinking that Kūniya might put him to death by some painful contrivance, Seniya swallowed the poison known as *tālapuda* and died When Kūniya came to know about this sad coincidence, he felt very sad and being unable to endure his sorrow, shifted his capital to Campā [106]

102 *Sū*, 6, p 20

103 According to the Jātaka, the longing was to drink blood from the right knee of king Bimbisāra (see the com on the *Dīgha* I p 133f)

104 *Niryā* 1, *Āva cū*, II, p 171 According to the Buddhists, Ajātaśatru kept his father in Tāpanageha and only his mother was allowed to interview him First she carried food in her hairs, then in her golden sandles Later on, she applied scented water on her body which was licked by the king But this too was stopped Later on, Ajātaśatru ordered his servants to tear off his father's feet and bake them in salt and oil on fire Consequently the king died At this time a messenger brought the news of a son's birth Ajātasatru was very much pleased to hear this and ordered to set his father at liberty But he was no more, the com on the *Dīgha* I, p 135 ff

105 According to the *Āva cū* (II, p 171) once it so happened that when Kūniya was taking his food, his child's urine fell into his dishes, but without taking any notice of it, Kūniya went on taking his food Afterwards he asked his mother, who was sitting nearby, "Mother, did anybody ever love his son so much ?" Then his mother narrated him the story of his childhood. Also cf the com on the *Dīgha*, I, p. 138 For the Buddhist account of Ajātasatru, see Law's some Ancient Indian kings, *Buddhist Studies*. pp. 195 ff.

106 *Niryā*. I ; *Āva. cū*. II, p. 171.

Paumāvai was the queen of Kūniya, who gave birth to Udāyi; Udāyi ruled over Pādaliputta.[107] Dhāriṇī was another of his queens.[108] Then Subhadrā and others are mentioned as other queens of Kūnika.[109]

Lecchavī

Licchavīs are mentioned along with the Mallakīs in the Jain Canons. The *Sūyagadanga*[110] refers to the clan of Licchavīs Licchavīs and Mallakīs of Kāsi and Kosala are said to have fought with Ceḍaga against Kūṇika (see Ceḍaga). The nine Licchavīs and nine Mallakīs were among those who observed fast and instituted an illumination on the fifteenth day of the new moon.[111]

Mallakī

The *Ovāiya Sutta* mentions the Mallakīs, along with the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Kṣatriyas and the Licchavīs, who are said to have gone to receive Mahāvīra in Campa.[112] According to the *Sūyagadanga cūrṇi*,[113] the Mallas had a strong unity among themselves and it is said that when some forlorn Malla died they disposed of him, and gave protection to the poor people of their caste.

Mayūrāṅka

King Mayūrāṅka is said to have issued the *dīnāra* coin inscribed with his name.[114]

Mūladeva

Mūladeva is described as a prince of Pādaliputta, who arrived at Ujjenī and lived with the harlot Devadattā. Later on, he left the city and in course of time, became the ruler of Beṇṇāyaḍa. He was known as Vikkamarāya.[115]

Muruṇḍa

(1) It is said that Murunda ruled at Kusumapura;[116] he is said to have sent his envoy to Purusapura.[117]

107 *Niryā* 1, *Āva. cū.* II, p. 179.
108 *Ovā Sū*, 7, p 23
109 *Ibid*, 33 p. 144
110 1 13 10, also *curni*, p 315. For the Buddhist origin, see the com on the *Khuddakapātha*, pp 58-60, also *Dīgha*, II, p. 73 f. For some interesting social customs among Licchavis, see *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, pp 5-18, also see *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 103 ff.
111 *Kalpa sū* 128
112 Sū 27.
113 p 28, also *Nisī cū* 8 p. 521 For Buddhist tradition regarding Mallas, see *Dīgha*. II. pp 146 f, *Mahāsudassana Jātaka*, 1, p. 391
114 *Nisī cū.*, 11, p. 843
115 *Uttarā. cū.*, 4, p. 118.
116 *Bṛh. Bhā* 3 4123 f.
117 *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4·5625.

(2) Another Murunda was a contemporary of Pādālittasūri, who is mentioned to have cured the king of the terrible headache he was suffering from, and was ruling over Paitthāna.[118]

Sten Konow tells us that Murunda is a Saka word, meaning lord.[119]

Naggai

(1) Naggai, otherwise known as Sīharaha, ruled at Pundavaddhana in Gandhāra. It is mentioned that once the king Sīharaha reached a mountain and married a beautiful maiden, who was residing there in a palace. The king used to go to the mountain every fifth day to visit his spouse and hence he came to be known as Naggai (*jamhā nage āu*). In course of time, the king is said to have built a charming city on the mountain where he erected the Jain temples and ruled with justice. Later on Naggai renounced the world and attained final emancipation.[120]

(2) Another Naggai is stated to be the ruler of Purusapura.[121]

Nahavāhana

It is stated that Nahavāhana and Sālivāhana were contemporaries. The former was rich in treasure and the latter was equipped with a powerful army. It is said that Sālivāhana besieged the city of Bharuyakaccha every year where Nahavāhana ruled. Nahavāhana gave away rewards of hundred thousands to his servants who brought the hands or heads of any number of the enemy's soldiers. This caused a great havoc in the enemy's camp and thus Sālivāhana used to return to Paitthāna. Once Sālivahāna made a conspiracy with his minister. He apparently insulted his minister and banished him. The minister reached Bharuvakaccha and was appointed as the minister of Nahavāhana. In course of time, he spent some of his minister's wealth in building temples, mounds, ponds, lakes and trenches and some in making ornaments for the queens. Now the minister sent a secret message to Sālivāhana who invaded the city and got possession of Bharuyakaccha.[122]

It is said that once the queen Paumāvai wanted to listen to the poetry of Vairabhūi, who was a very good singer. The teacher was invited to the harem but the queen was disappointed on seeing his ugly face.[123]

Nanda

It has already been said that when king Udāyi died without any heir, a barber boy (*nhāviyadāsa*) ascended the throne of Pādaliputta and was known as the first Nanda.[124] But it is mentioned that the Dan-

118 *Pindo Nir.*, 498

119 See Supra, under Murunda, section V

120 *Uttarā Ṭī.*, 9, pp 141 ff. Naggaji is also mentioned in the *Jātaka* (III, p 377, 381); also *Mahābhā.* VII 4 6

121 *Āva cū.*, II, p 208, also cf. [illegible], p 78

122 *Āva Nir.*, 299, *Āva cū.* II, p 200 f

123 *Vya Bhā.* 3 58 f, p 14 f. For Nabhovāhana or Nahapāna, see *P H A I* p 405f.

124 It happened sixty years after the *Nirvāna* of Mahāvīra, (*Stlav.* VI 23.-243). Nanda and his descendants continued to rule Magadha till the last Nanda king was deposed by Cānakya 155 years after the death of Mahāvīra (*ibid* 339).

ḍas, Bhaḍas and Bhoyagas, taking him to be a slave-boy, would not pay him honour. At this Ṇhāviyadāsa got angry and executed some and took others prisoners.

Kappaka, the son of Kavila, was his minister (*kumārāmacca*). Once Nanda got angry with his minister and ordered him and his family to be cast into a well. When the vassal kings heard that Kappaka was no more, they besieged the city of Pāḍaliputta and reduced it to great distress. Later on, Kappaka was set free and was taken out of the well and the enemy fled away in panic.

Mahāpaduma was the ninth Nanda, who made Sagaḍāla his minister. Sagaḍāla was a descendant of Kappaka He had two sons, named Thūlabhadda and Siriya, and seven daughters, namely Jakkhā, Jakkhadinnā, Bhūyā, Bhūyadinnā, Senā, Venā and Renā.[125]

Paesī

King Paesī, who is mentioned as an impious king, ruled at Seyaviyā in the country of Kegaiaddha. Once he sent gifts to his vassal king Jiyasattu, who was ruling over Sāvatthi [126]

The *Rāyapaseniya sutta* records a dialogue between Kesī and Paesī, when the latter, being influenced by the teachings of the former, became a *samanovāsaga*. Since then the king became indifferent towards his kingdom and was poisoned by his queen Sūriyakantā.[127]

Pajjoya

Pajjoya or Caṇḍapajjoya was a powerful ruler of Ujjenī, who was known as the lord of Avantī (Avantipati). He married Sivā, one of the seven daughters of Ceḍaga of Vesāli, and who was considered one of the four jewels of Pajjoya. King Pajjoya had two sons, named Gopāla and Pālaka.[128] Khaṇḍakamma is mentioned as a minister of Pajjoya.

[125] *Āva. cū* pp. 181 ff; also *Kathāsaritsāgara* Vol I, ch. IV. For Buddhist tradition of the Nandas, see *Mahāvamsa Tikā* V·15, also *P H. A. I.* pp. 187 f for the Vedic tradition.

[126] *Rāya. sū.*, 142 ff; also see *Dīgha*, Pāyāsisutta.

[127] Sū. 162-204.

[128] The following is the genealogical tree :—

Pajjoya

Gopāla — Pālaka

Avantivardhana — Rāṣṭravardhana

Avantisena — Maniprabha

(*Āva. Nir.* 1282 ; also see *Pratyaññā.* T, *Kathasarit* Vol I ; III, p. 87 ff)

PAJJOYA AND ABHAYA

King Pajjoya is said to have fought a number of battles. Once he invaded Rāyagiha, when Abhayakumāra is said to have foiled him intelligently It is said that Abhaya buried iron jars full of *dīnāras* at a place where the enemy would encamp round the city. When Pajjoya besieged the city, Abhaya sent him a messenger saying that Seniya had already bought over his allies, who would hand him (Pajjoya) over to Seniya, bound hand and foot If he did not believe it he should dig up the camping ground and see if his confederates had not received the gold. Pajjoya discovered the money and was confused. He was routed by Seniya's army and returned to Ujjenī.[129]

When Pajjoya reached Ujjenī, he was told how he had been deceived by Abhaya. Thereupon Pajjoya decided to fetch him from Rāyagiha. A courtesan set out with seven other women to Rāyagiha, where she pretended to be a chaste widow devoted to the Jain faith. One day they met Abhaya in a Jain temple and invited him to a feast when he was made drunk and was carried to Ujjenī in a horse-chariot. Abhaya lived in the court of Pajjoya for a long time and did his ministerial work.

Now Abhaya wanted to return home. But before going he took a vow that, as he had been brought by religious deceit (*dhammacchalena*), he would throw himself into the flames, if he did not avenge himself by taking Pajjoya tied to a bed and crying, through the streets of Ujjeṇī to Rāyagiha Abhaya left for Rāyagiha with his wife.

After some time Abhaya returned to Ujjenī with two courtesans and began to live as a merchant. King Pajjoya saw them and was enamoured of them. He sent a female-messenger to them twice or thrice, but they drove her out angrily. Later on, they asked Pajjoya to see them on the seventh day. Abhaya also hired a man to become his brother and feign madness He was given the name of Pajjoya. He would everyday be tied to a cot, taken to the house of a physician, although he cried aloud that he was Pajjoya Now at the appointed time, Pajjoya met the two courtesan girls, when he was caught and was bound down to the cot and carried through the city, although he cried that he was Pajjoya. Pajjoya was thus carried away to Rāyagiha in the presence of Seniya, who came to kill him with his sword but was prevented by Abhaya. Later on, Pajjoya was honoured and was sent back to Ujjeṇī[130]

PAJJOYA AND SAYĀṆIYA

Pajjoya also waged war against Sayānīya, the father of Udayana of Kosambī. When Pajjoya reached Kosambī, Sayānīya transferred his forces from the south bank of the Jamuna to the north bank, where the

129 According to the *Majjhima* (III 7), Ajātaśatru, the son of Bimbisāra, fortified Rājagiha because he was afraid of an invasion of his territories by Pradyota.
130 *Āva. cū.*, II, pp. 159-163

enemy could not reach easily. The servants of Sayānīya rode on their horses, and cut the nose and ear of the soldiers of Pajjoya Thus Pajjoya was defeated and fled away in panic.[131]

It is mentioned that once a painter, who was turned out of the court of king Sayānīya, reached Ujjenī and presented a painting of queen Miyāvai to Pajjoya Pajjoya became enamoured of her beauty and sent a messenger to Sayānīya saying that either he should hand over his queen to him or must be prepared for war As Sayānīya would not yield, Pajjoya marched against him, and the former died of dysentery (*atisāra*) [132]

PAJJOYA AND UDDĀYANA

Another war was declared between Pajjoya and king Uddāyana of Vībhaya It is said that Uddāyana had a sandalwood image of Mahāvīra in his possession which was looked after by Devadattā, a hunchbacked slave girl Once a *sāvaga* from Gandhāra came to worship this image in Vībhaya He was pleased with Devadattā and gave her some magic pills Devadattā swallowed one of them and her body was transformed to the semblance of molten gold Then bearing Pajjoya in mind she swallowed another pill and as a result Pajjoya came hurrying with his elephant, Nalagiri, to take her away Devadattā, who was now called Suvannagulivā, insisted on taking along the image to which Pajjoya agreed. Next morning, Uddāyana found his slave girl and the image both missing People saw the foot-prints of Nalagiri, his urine and excrement. Thereupon Uddāyana sent a messenger to Pajjoya saying "I care nothing for the servant girl, send me the image " But Pajjoya would not give the image

In course of time, along with his ten vassals, Uddāyana marched against Pajjoya and reached Ujjenī A fight ensued between Uddāyana and Pajjoya in which the latter suffered a defeat His forehead was branded with a frontlet reading "husband of slave girl" (*dāsīpai*), and Uddāyana hastened back to his town After some time, the day of *pajjosana* approached and Uddāyana pardoned Pajjoya and set him at liberty Then in order to cover the letters *dāsīpati*, Uddayana invested him with a golden plate (*sovannapatta*) and gave him the realm It is said that from that time the kings were invested with the plate, before this they were invested with the diadem (*maudabaddha*) [133]

Pandu

It is said that Pandu ruled at Hatthināpura He, with Kuntī, the daughter of Andhagavahnī, as his queen, was invited along with his five sons, named Juhitthila, Bhīma, Ajjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva, and Duj-

131 *Ibid.*, p 167
132 *Āva Cū* p 88 f
133 *Uttarā Tī*, 18, pp 253 ff, *Āva. cū*, p. 400 f; For other traditions, see *P H A.I* pp. 97, 123, 165.

jodhana, Gāngeya, Vidura, Dona, Jayaddatha, Sakuni, Kīva, and Assatthāma to attend the *sayamvara* marriage of Dovaī in Kampillapura. The five Pāṇḍavas were chosen by her.[134]

Sālivāhana (Sātavāhana)

King Sālivāhana ruled at Paitthāna with his minister Kharaya. It is said that he used to invade the city of Bharuyakaccha every year (see Nahavāna) It was at the request of Sālivāhana that Kālaka changed the day of *pañcamī* to *catutthī* for *pajjosana*.[135] (See Paitthāna)

Sampai

It is mentioned that after Kunāla, Sampai came to the throne of Ujjenī Staying in Ujjenī, he conquered the whole of Dakkhināvaha and brought all the frontier states under his subjugation Sampai is said to be a very powerful ruler of Ujjenī and a great patron of Jain religion. He gave away charities at the four gates of the city and offered garments etc. to Jain monks Whatever food was left after being distributed to the poor and the orphans was given to the Jain monks (because the Jain monks are not allowed to accept food from a king) Samprati paid for this food to the cooks He was a great devotee of the *sramanas* and he glorified the "*Samana Sangha*" He called the kings of the neighbouring countries and asked them to show devotion towards *sramanas* At the festival of *rahajattā*, he used to walk in the company of Danda, Bhada and Bhojika etc with the chariot and offered flowers, scents, ornaments, garments, and cowries Samprati celebrated the worship of Jain image with great pomp and show, when other kings also joined him He told his vassal kings that he did not want money , but if they considered him to be their lord, they were to pay their respect to the *sramanas* Samprati proclaimed non-killing (*amāghāta*) and he built temples He trained his warriors and sent them in the disguise of Jain monks to border lands (*paccantadesa*) and thus made Andhra, Dravida, Mahārāstra, Kudukka, Surāstra and other countries suitable for the movement of Jain monks[136]

In the words of Smith, "Samprati is reputed to have been zealous in promoting the cause of Jainism as Asoka had been in propagating the religion of Buddha "[137]

Udayana

Udayana,[138] who was the grandson of Sahassānīya and the son of Sayāṇīya, ruled at Kosambī[139]

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134 *Nāyā*. 16 for the Buddhist tradition, see *Kunāla Jātaka* (No 536). When the child was born, the king adopted her as his own daughter That is why Devaī is called 'Dvepitika' in Buddhist literature (Malalasekara, *op cit* , under 'Kanhā')

135 Also see *Caturvimsati p* , 15, p 136 ff ,*Prabandhacintāmani*, i, p 17 , also see *Early History of the Deccan*, pp 29-31

136 *Brh Bhā* 1 3278-3289 , *Nisī cū* , 15, p 1115 f also cf *Sthaviravalicarita*, XI

137 *Oxford History of India*, p 117 , also cf *P H A I* , p 291

138 According to the Buddhists, Udena's mother when pregnant was carried off by a monster bird and deposited on a tree near the residence of Allakappa The child was born at the time of a storm (*utu*), hence he came to be known Udena; *Dhammapada A.* I, p. 165 , also cf. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol. I, Bk. II, ch IX, pp. 94-102.

139 *Bhag.* 12 2.

UDAYANA AND PAJJOYA

It is said that when Sayāṇīya died of dysentery, Udayana was very young and so the responsibility of governing the kingdom fell on the shoulders of queen Migāvatī. At this time king Pajjoya repeated his old demand[140] and asked Migāvatī to marry him But the latter tactfully requested him to permit her to defer her decision till her son grew old enough to govern the kingdom independently, and suggested to Pajjoya to make the city stronger in the meantime by means of fortification and storing grains, etc. Pajjoya returned to Ujjenī In course of time, Lord Mahāvīra reached Kosambī and Migāvatī went to pay reverence to the Teacher She wanted to join his order and so she asked Pajjoya for permission which the latter could not refuse in the presence of an assembly where Mahāvīra also was present. Migāvatī entrusted Udayana to the care of Pajjoya and along with eight queens of Pajjoya, namely, Angāravatī, etc joined the ascetic order under Mahāvīra.[141]

It is said that when Abhaya was residing in the court of Pajjoya as a minister, the king's elephant Nalagiri got loose and no one could approach him Abhaya suggested the name of Udayana of Kosambī who was a very good musician, and said that he could bring the elephant under control by his music Knowing that Udayana was fond of elephants, Pajjoya sent a mechanical elephant, to a forest near Kosambī carrying men inside. As soon as Udayana saw this elephant, he began to sing, and was caught hold of by the king's soldiers Udayana was brought to Ujjenī where he was asked by Pajjoya to teach music to his daughter, Vāsavadattā[142] But Udayana was warned not to look at her as she was one-eyed, and would be ashamed if he did so. Vāsavadattā also was told that her teacher was a leper and therefore would teach her from behind the curtain. Vāsavadattā was attracted by her teacher's voice and looked for an opportunity to have a look at him. One day, she sang badly, when the teacher exclaimed angrily "Be hanged, one-eyed person" She retorted "You do not know yourself, oh ! leper" He knew that she was no more blind than he was a leper He drew away the curtain and both fell in love with each other.

One day Nalagiri got loose and Udayana was asked to tame it Udayana proposed that he and the princess would sing riding on the she-elephant, Bhadravatī.[143] The elephant was caught, but Udayana and Vāsavadattā eloped

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140 See Pajjoya

141 *Āva. cū* p 91 f

142 Vāsavadattā was born of Angāravatī (*Āva Cū* II, p 161). It is also coroborated by *Pratijñāyaugandharāyana* of Bhāsa and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* ; Pradyota, Udayana and Srenika—A Jain legend by Gune, *A B O I*, 1920-21

143 In Buddhist literature beside the she-elephant Bhaddavatikā, and Kāka, a slave, Pajjoya is said to have had three other fleet-footed conveyances two mares, Celakanni and Muñjakesi and an elephant Nalagiri About the she-elephant Baddavatī, it is said that she could travel fifteen leagues in a day. Udena made use of her in his elopment with Vāsuladattā At first the king paid her great honour, but when she grew old she was neglected, *Dhammapada A.* I, p. 196 f.

According to another tradition, however when the elephant was brought under control, king Pajjoya went to his pleasure-garden. This opportunity was seized by Jogandharāyana, Udayana's minister, who had come to Ujjenī with the vow of carrying away the princess for king Udayana. He filled four jars with the urine[144] and together with Kañcanamālā, the maid-servant of Pajjoya, Vasanta, the elephant-driver, Ghosavantī, the vīnā, Udayana and Vāsavadattā ran away from Ujjenī riding on the she-elephant, Bhadravatī King Pajjoya ordered his servants to chase them on Nalagiri But when Nalagiri got near them one jar of urine was smashed near the approaching elephant, who was held up In the meantime they travelled twenty five *yojanas* When Nalagiri approached, again the same trick was played. By smashing three jars, Udayana and his party travelled seventy five *yojanas* and reached the city of Kosambī.[145]

Uddāyana (Udāyana)

Udāyana was a very powerful monarch of Sindhu Sovīra It is said that Udāyana ruled at sixteen *janapadas*, viz, Sindhu sovīra, etc. and sixty three cities, viz, Vībhaya, etc, and he was the lord of the ten crowned (*maudabaddha*) kings, viz, Mahāsena, etc Udāyana was a devotee of the *Tāvasas* His queen Pabhāvai gave birth to Abhītikumāra. It is mentioned that once Udāyana thought of paying a visit to Mahāvīra, who was in Campā at that time It is said that the latter knew his thoughts and came down to Vībhaya in order to ordain him Udāyana anointed Kesīkumāra, his sister's son, on the throne and joined the order under Mahāvīra[146] Uddāyana came to be known as a royal sage (*rājarisi*) and was the last king to renounce the kingdom with a crown on his head. After him no king was allowed to renounce the world wearing the crown[147]

It is mentioned that at the behaviour of his father, Abhītikumāra felt very much disappointed He went to king Kūnika in Campā and began to live there.[148]

144 According to Buddhists, Udayana took bags of gold and silver coin and when pursued, opened first a sack of gold and then one of silver. See for the story *Dhammapada* A I, pp 191 ff For the full account, see Law's Some Ancient Indian Kings, *Buddhistic Studies*, pp 214 ff

145 *Āva Cū*. II, p 160. ff, for other traditions, see *Svapnavāsavadattā*, *Mātanga Jātaka*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *P H. A. I* p 164 f, *I H Q*, 1930, pp 678-700

146 Bhag. 13·6.

147 *Āva. Cū.*, II, p. 171f.

148 *Bhag*. 13·6.

Udāyana was sojourning in Vīibhaya when he was poisoned by his sister's son and died.[149]

Udāyi

When Kūṇika died, his son Udāyi ascended the throne of Campā But on account of his father's death he would not like to stay in Campā and so he founded a new capital on the bank of the Ganges which came to be known as Pādaliputta [150] Here he is said to have built a Jain temple

It is said that once a vassal king of Udāyi committed some offence as a result of which he was dethroned. At this the son of this king made up his mind to take revenge on Udāyi He went to Ujjenī and related the story of his distress to the king of Ujjenī, who promised to assist him in his errand Later, the disguised prince went to Pādaliputta and joined the ascetic order as a novice It is said that once, together with other monks, he went to the king's palace for religious discourses, and at night when all were asleep, he took a pair of iron scissors (*kankalonakattikā*), and hit the king at his head It is said that in order to save religion from disgrace, king Udāyi cut off his head and died [151]

Usuyāra

King Usuyāra ruled in the city of Usuyāra, situated in Kuru [152] King Usuyāra may be identified with Esukārī of the *Hatthipāla* *Jātaka* [153]

149 *Āva. cū*, II, p 36 Cf *Divyāvadāna* (ch xxxvii). According to the Buddhists, king Rudrāyana was reigning in Roruka with his queen Candraprabhā, Sikhandi was his prince. It is said that an image of Buddha was sent by king Bimbisāra to king Udāyana to acquaint him with Buddhist religion. In course of time, Candraprabhā joined the order and died Later on, Rudrāyana also followed her The Buddhist writers do not mention anything about the sister's son of Rudrāyana and so here the prince sikhaṇḍi succeeds his father It is mentioned that king sikhandi was misguided by his wicked ministers When Rudrāyana knew of this, he came back to give advice to his son, when a plot was hatched up and the monk Uddāyana was put to death See also Muni Jaiavijayaji's article in [illegible] I p 208 ff

150 According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa* Udāyi built the city of Kusumapura in the fourth year of his reign (*P H A I*, p 76)

151 *Āva. Cū*, II, pp 179f Udāyibhadda is also mentioned in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, pp 42 f, also see *P. H. A. I* pp. 175 ff for purānic tradition

152 *Uttarā Sū*, 14, *Vivā*. II, p. 64.

153 IV, pp. 473 ff.

RETROSPECT

1 It is admitted now that the history of Jainism begins from the advent of Pārśvanātha and not from Mahāvīra as was popularly supposed by scholars Pārśva was a powerful religious teacher who flourished towards the end of the ninth century B C, 250 years before Mahāvīra It was he who for the first time founded the four orders in the Jain community

Unlike Buddhism the strength of Jainism lay in the mass of lay followers, which helped in the survival of the Jain religion Another cause of its survival was its rigid conservatism which kept it free from Tāntrika developments, unlike its sister religion Buddhism This conservatism of holding fast to their original institutions and doctrines did not allow any change in essentials of religion and hence the religious life of the Jain community even now is substantially the same as it was two thousand years ago The new rituals and practices of Vaisnavism, saivism and other sects could not create any allurement and so Jainism lost its importance in the south where it had once gained dominance Jain religion has maintained its old spirit and even now it exercises its hold on an influential community in India

The Jain Canons, on which the present work is based do not belong to one particular period They were compiled and redacted thrice between 4th century B C to 5th century A D The object of the thesis is to present the social materials embodied in the Jain *Sūtras* and exegetical literature and therefore the basis of the presentation is not in chronological order

The period of the commentaries which varies from the first century to the seventeenth century A D could not be mixed up with the *Sūtra* period But since the commentaries preserve a good deal of old traditions and without them the *Āgamas* could not be properly understood, the material embodied in them is utilised in the present work However, the material embodied in the Jain Canon is pretty old and may be compared with the Buddhist *Suttas* and other works of the early period before the Christian era

2 We have seen that the country was divided into small principalities which were either governed by the king or had republican constitutions. Generally, the kings were autocrats and the judicial arrangements were not sound and efficient Very often innocent persons were charged and sent for execution Various offences such as robbery, adultery, murder were prevalent and most severe punishments were inflicted on the culprits. Prison-life was very hard The *rājadhānī* or the capital city was the seat of government There were big cities with busy markets and the villages which populated with the teeming millions of India

3 The economic condition of the people was not bad The country was rich and prosperous, flourished in trade and commerce. Yet the condition of the general masses cannot be said to have been ideal. There was sufficient to eat and sufficient to fulfil their simple needs People were luxury-loving and were fond of ornaments, clothes wreaths, flowers, perfumes, music, dancing dramas and singing The rich people possessed palatial buildings, married several women, paid large fees to courtesans, went out surrounded by servants and attendants in a gorgeous procession accompanied by damsels The middle class people too lived a life of luxury and made magnificent donations to the order The condition of poor people was deplorable They had to earn their livelihood with great difficulty They suffered most at the hands of money-lenders and from famines resulting from draught and pestilence

4 There was caste system and society was divided into Kṣatriyas Brāhmanas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras A Śūdra had the most degraded position in the society The family was the primary cell of social organism There was the joint family system, and the head of the family was respected most The position of women cannot be described as satisfactory, although the Jain prophets allowed them equality with men and permitted them to attain *Nirvāna* Arts and sciences were manifold and people acquired efficiency in fine arts such as music painting and sculpture The secular sciences such as mathematics astronomy and astrology and the science of archery and architecture flourished. There were religious mendicants belonging to various orders who played an important part in moulding the material as well as the spiritual life of the people People believed in magic and a variety of superstitions. There were sports and amusements and various ceremonies held by the common-folk, funeral rites were observed with pomp

5 During the life time of Mahāvīra, the spread of Jainism was limited, and Jain monks did not seem generally to have crossed the boundaries towards east of Sāketa beyond Anga-Magadha, towards south beyond Kosambī, towards west beyond Thūnā and towards the north beyond Kuṇālā, which corresponds to the tract of a portion of modern Bihar eastern United Provinces, and a part of western U. P But later on, at the time of Sampratı, who was a devout Jain this geographical limit was changed and the Jain monks could traverse as far as Sindhu Sovīra and Surāstra in west, Kalinga in the east, Dravida, Āndhra and Coorg (Kudukka) in the south and some part of the eastern Punjab It seems that Jain monks because of restrictions of food etc never left the shores of India and went abroad like the Buddhist monks and even Mahāvīra did not go beyond Bihar, north-western Bengal and a part of the eastern United Provinces, his visit to Sindhu Sovīra and other parts of India seems to be doubtful

As far as possible the geographical names have been identified, yet unfortunately a bulk of them remain unidentified, particularly the small villages in Bihar, where Mahāvīra toured during his ascetic life.

The Jain canons, besides giving information about the Āryan countries, give a list of many non-Āryan countries probably thereby meaning that Jainism had not penetrated into those countries. In these lists some of the countries, peoples and the *Janapadas* are recognisable, but unfortunately the traditional lists have become very corrupt through the centuries of their transmission. The author has, however, made an attempt to collate the lists occurring in various texts in order to find out the correct names.

6. It should be borne in mind that the historical material in the Jain canons is so scanty that hardly any history in the real sense of the word could be written; hence this chapter should not be treated as purely historical. Herein simply an attempt has been made to put together the historical material preserved in the Jain Canons. A number of kings and rulers are mentioned in the Jain Canons, most of whom seem to be fictitious. They go to a religious teacher, attend his religious sermons, renounce the world and attain salvation on some mountain. Even the kings who are described as contemporaries of Mahāvīra seem to be quite legendary. Except for a few notable kings such as Sreṇika, Ajātaśatru, Pradyota and Udayana history has not given any clue to them so far. Regarding kings and rulers, another point which should be noted is that most of the well-known rulers are claimed by both Jains and Buddhists as their own. In fact, they showed equal regard towards religious teachers of different sects and hence it is very difficult to say that they belonged to a particular faith.

INDEX I

This index contains important Prakrit and Sanskrit words from the book.

M

N

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INDEX II

The Sections V and VI of this book have already been alphabetically arranged, so this index contains the words mainly from the first four Sections of the book. The letters k and y in bracket denote kings and yaksas respectively.

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